SUFISM

ITS SAINTS AND SHRINES

BY

BISHOP JOHN A. SUBHAN

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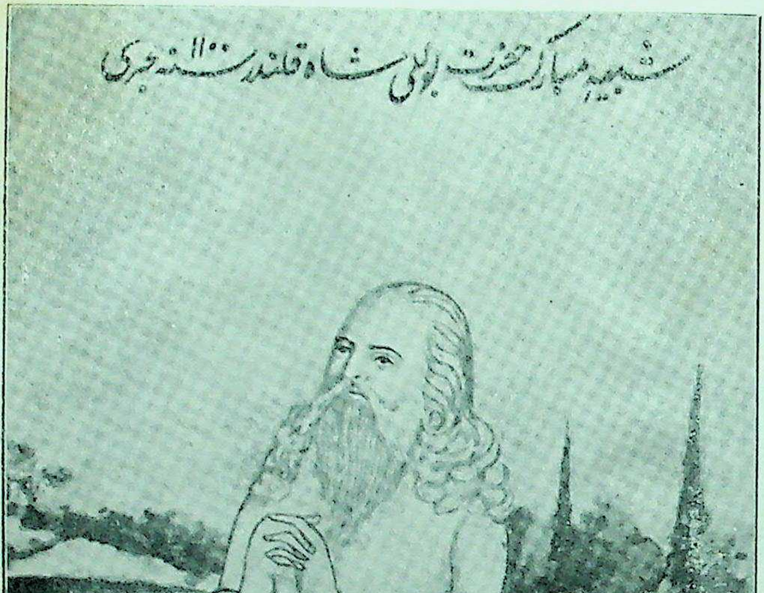
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BY KIND PERMISSION DR. M. T. TITUS

Ḥaḍrat Bū 'Alī Shāh Qalandar.

SUFISM
ITS SAINTS AND SHRINES

An Introduction to the Study of Sufism with Special Reference to India and Pakistan

(Revised Edition)

BY

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TO

WILLIAM PATON

AND

MURRAY TITUS

IN GRATEFUL RECOGNITION OF THE FACT THAT IT
WAS THROUGH THEIR INSTRUMENTALITY THAT
I UNDERTOOK THE SPECIAL WORK IN WHICH
I AM NOW ENGAGED.

FOREWORD

by

THE LATE RAJA MAHARAJ SINGH (Lucknow, India)

The first edition of The Rev. J. A. Subhan's book entitled *Sufism, Its Saints and Shrines* appeared in 1938. Since then the author has become a Bishop and it is as Bishop Subhan that he had kindly asked me to write a 'Foreword' to the second edition of his book. I have gladly consented not only because I have a high personal regard for the Bishop but also because for many years I have taken an active interest in the Sufi mystics, have read a good deal about them, and have occasionally ventured to deliver talks on them. It has been a labour of love. One of the books which has helped me to become interested in the Muslim mystics is Bishop Subhan's "Sufism". This gentleman was at one time a member of the Qadari Order, a well known Sufi Order, and at a later period of his life was a member of the Roman Catholic Church which has had within its fold a number of mystics. Within the 400 pages of this book the writer has compressed much material starting with the early history of Sufism and ending with an account of its religious orders and some of its principal saints in India.

I have always regarded mysticism as a way of life rather than as a separate religion. It is a direct approach to God, the one in whom we live and move and have our being. The love of God, prayers, fasting and attendance at religious gatherings and even asceticism are merely means to the great end of union with or in God. And it is because union with the Divine being is a universal yearning that mysticism has not been confined to one creed or to one race but is the handmaid of all. It is a platitude to repeat what has often been said that mystics, whether of the East or of the West, speak the same language. It has always seemed to me as remarkable as it is significant that, whereas in the Koran mysticism is hardly apparent at least in explicit language, and whereas the Almighty in Islam is more transcendent than immanent, the Sufi mystics have proceeded further in the direction of what might be called *Vedanta* philosophy than the mystics of Christianity whether early or late.

Bishop Subhan has an interesting chapter on the relation of Sufism to Indian thought. I have little doubt that even before the Muslim invasion of India there was contact between India and the countries of what is now the Near East and that this led, as the Bishop has pointed out, to parallelism of thought and practice between Sufi and Indian thought and practice. Equally I feel convinced that the Sufi mystics were influenced by western Neo-Platonism and especially by the writings of Plotinus the profound Greek philosopher. Such happy blendings had at least one beneficent result. It is that one finds practically nothing of that communal hatred, known as fanaticism, in mystics whether Hindu, Christian or Muslim. They are content to live and let live and to believe that there are many approaches to the Divine.

Much of Bishop Subhan's book is taken up with a detailed study of the Sufi religious orders. I must frankly state that I have not the requisite knowledge to write on this. Here, again, however, we have an analogy between East and West and between India, the Islamic countries and Europe.

In conclusion I confidently recommend Bishop Subhan's very instructive and interesting book written by one who has personal knowledge and experience of a subject which is the more fascinating the more one studies it.

MAHARAJ SINGH,
Governor of Bombay.

PREFACE

At the very outset I desire to acknowledge with deep gratitude the invaluable assistance given to me by my revered friend and counsellor, Rev. L. Bevan Jones, Principal of the Henry Martyn School of Islamics, Lahore, in the composition of this book in proper English. He has helped unstintingly by going over the whole manuscript, sentence by sentence, correcting and improving its language and thus making its publication possible. Without his help and encouragement, this book would probably never have seen the light. I am also deeply indebted to my friend and colleague, Rev. J. W. Sweetman, for kindly re-writing Ch. II, and translating into English the original passages quoted in this book, and also for his generous help in proof reading.

I also desire to express my great indebtedness to Dr. L. E. Browne, my former colleague and to my friend and benefactor Dr. M. T. Titus for their most valuable criticism and helpful suggestions most of which have found their way into this book.

I am conscious that the subject here dealt with has not received adequate treatment. But in view of the fact that the resources for our knowledge of such parts of it as, the history of the Religious Orders and details of the Saints, are so obscure and at times so unaccessible, readers who are in a position to see the book's shortcomings will kindly forgive the deficiencies and favour me with their criticisms.

The book claims no originality and no great research. It is an effort to place before English readers in systematic form, the varied and extensive, though often hidden, material on the subject of Mysticism and Saint worship in Islam, available in Urdu and Persian literature.

A word must be added on the system of transliteration adopted in this book. While it has not been possible to give an exact idea of the pronunciation of Arabic and Persian words, the following method has been adopted.

The elision of *alif* is indicated by an apostrophe ('), e.g.. 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī. The cases where apostrophe is used for *hamza* or for the elision of *alif* can easily be determined by persons acquainted with Arabic and Persian. The Arabic '*ayn* is represented by an *inverted* apostrophe (') e. g. *Shara*ʾ.

The long vowels are represented by a short horizontal overline, ā, ī, ū, and have approximately the sound of the vowels in the following words: father, seen, loot.

Diacritical points or lines appear under ḥ, ṣ, ẓ, ṭ, ṉ, t̲h̲, k̲h̲, g̲h̲, to represent certain Arabic values. Some few words, however, such as current proper names, are spelled according to usage, e. g., Muhammed, Quran, Islam. In footnotes and headings Arabic or Sanskrit words are spelled in Roman without any diacritical points.

Lastly, I offer my thanks to my wife for the sympathy, encouragement and wise counsel that I have received from her in writing of this book, which otherwise because of the peculiar nature of its subject and being my first effort to write for English readers would not have been an easy task.

Lahore, India.
March, 1938.

J. A. S.

Preface to the Second Edition

The book was originally written when I was a Lecturer in the Henry Martyn School of Islamics, Lahore, which is now transferred to Aligarh, U. P. The first edition has been out of print for several years. The Second Edition is published because of the encouragement received from persons interested in the subject. The late Raja Sir Maharaj Singh often spoke of it in commendable terms, as is evident from the Foreword which he wrote for the second edition of this book when he was the Governor of Bombay, and I the Methodist Bishop in that city. He was greatly interested in the teachings of the Indian mystics of Islam. He was anxious to see the present volume in print again. Unfortunately, the publication of it has been unavoidably delayed and he did not live long enough to see the book in its second edition. His death was a national loss. As a person of great talent and ability, a devoted Christian and a statesman, he sought the good of the Christian community in India and always worked for the welfare of the country. He was an ardent supporter of unity among Churches.

While some minor changes are made in this edition, an additional chapter on Chishtī Order in the west, and a biographical sketch of Sayyad Shāh Gesū

Darāz of Gulbarga have been added in this present edition.

I am greatly indebted to the Lucknow Publishing House, Lucknow, for kindly undertaking its printing and publication, and in particular to Dr. J. N. Hollister and to Dr. W. W. Bell, the Agents of the Press. The latter, from the time that the book was out of print, has been keenly interested in its printing and publication. Without his active help a book of this nature, involving special typography, would not have been easy to produce. I am highly indebted to Miss Ruth Gish, the Area Secretary of Hyderabad Area of the Methodist Church in Southern Asia, for kindly reading the Proofs and for other helpful suggestions. Thanks are due to the Christian Literature Committee for Muslims for a generous grant as a subsidy for its printing and publication which were not possible without such a financial aid. Lastly I must thank Dr. W. W. Bell and his assistants for their patience and hard labour that have gone in at last producing the book in its final form.

—*Author*

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INTRODUCTION

ON THURSDAY NIGHT

TONIGHT is Thursday night, the night which is specially sacred to the Ṣūfī. Come, let us visit some shrines and see for ourselves what strange religious rites are practised almost at our very doors.

We enter a dimly-lighted room where a number of men are gathered. As we do so a signal is given by a man who appears to be the leader of the assembly and the doors are shut. There is a hush as twelve men form into two parallel lines in the centre of the room. The glimmer of a solitary burricane lamp falls on dark faces in which only the eyes seem to live. The rest of us fall back to the sides of the room. The *D͟hikr* is about to begin.

With a startling clap of the hands the leader starts swaying from right to left. Very slowly he begins and the men fall into the rhythm of his swaying. Every time they sway to the left, they call "Hū!" in chorus, "Hū...Hū...Hū..." So the monotonous chant proceeds with at first hardly any perceptible increase in tempo. But gradually the movement of their bodies becomes more rapid and the sound of "Hū! Hū! Hū!" comes faster and faster and with a crescendo corresponding with the quicker time. At last the excitement becomes so intense that a man there, and a boy here, slip to their knees, still swaying in unison with the others till finally they fall in collapse on the floor. One man goes forward and looks at the faces of these two and leaves them where they lie. Thus course after course of this chanting and swaying beginning from the slower and proceeding to the wild orgy of motion and shouting, according to the leader's direction, who brings the whole course to its end by a loud shout of "Hū!" and a wild jerk to the left. Then dead silence prevails, succeeded by the low undertone of prayer in which all who have not fallen unconscious join.

We leave the room as the unconscious begin to revive, in order that we may witness a more extraordinary performance in a neighbouring shrine. Wending our way through the narrow lanes, we eventually reach our destination. We pass the threshold and enter a maze of rooms in the dark, till we find ourselves in a gloomy hall. Against the end wall, five men sit facing us. The middle one is the leader, but the other four are also elders. Upon the wall to the right of the leader, knives, cutlasses and other pointed instruments of iron are suspended. In the front of him a group of some twenty men are seated forming a semi-circle. Here the performance seems to have been in progress already for some time. The leader is repeating something and swaying his body from right to left. The rest in unison with him sway in the accustomed manner from side to side and shout in chorus. "Allah!" Suddenly in the midst of the performance one man on the right of the leader begins to chant a prayer; all change the movement of their bodies and begin to sway backwards and forwards, continuing the chorus of "Allah." Thus they proceed for about an hour when all rise up, and the two elders on each side of the leader begin an antiphonic chant, responding alternately. The rest with a rising and falling movement from the hips, now shout in chorus "Yā Hū! Yā Hū!" and at the same time is heard a mingled sound of sob, sigh and cry. Soon they become more excited; rising to their feet they form into a circle and begin to stamp their feet on the floor, according to the rhythm of the singing elders. Then at a measured pace they make the circuit of the hall. At the point when their strength seems to be exhausted, the scene takes a new turn. Some of the men take down the sharp weapons and heat them in the fire which has all the time been burning in the corner. When these are red-hot they are taken to the leader and he breathes on them. The men, filled with fresh energy and with a frenzy almost amounting to madness, rush to the leader and take these red-hot irons from him, snatching them, licking them, holding them between the teeth. Those who cannot get irons, take hold of the knives and cutlasses still hanging on the wall, and with indescribable fury stick them into their sides, legs and arms. It does not take long for them to lose their strength, and one after another they stagger and fall on the floor. They utter no word of complaint and do not show any sign of pain. All is quiet: the yells and shrieks have given way to a fearful silence, a strange contrast to the pandemonium only a little while before. The riotous scene has changed into a horrible spectacle of wounded men lying all over the floor. The leader now walks round the hall, examines each person and applies his saliva to their wounds. As we turn to leave the hall, one of the elders comes up to us and in quite a confident tone assures us that in twenty-four hours they will be perfectly healed and not even a scar of their wounds will be left.

It is now past midnight and we shall visit one more shrine where the *dhikr* continues all night long. We leave the city and come to a place which appears like a village. In an open space with a small shrine in the background we find a large number of people gathered and a musical festival in progress. People are sitting close to one another and a large crowd of spectators is standing all round. The entire gathering strikes us by its disorderliness. One man in a corner is shrieking "Hū!", another is raving like a madman, a third is whirling round and round, and yet a fourth is lying unconscious, while all the time the musicians, paying no heed to the behaviour of these men who are in frenzy—or, as they would say, in a state of religious ecstasy—go on with their singing and keep on playing their instruments. Then certain men, apparently appointed to do this, come forward and seize the men far gone in ecstasy, carry them off to some nearby trees and hang them up by their heels. In the dim light of oil-lamps burning here and there, we had not noticed that there were already some suspended in this way. Some of these are now recovering their senses and they are loosed. They go back and join the crowd to listen to the music. We are told that this treatment meted out to men in a state of ecstasy is a part of their mystic rites.

The following pages will throw some light on the history of the Ṣūfīs, and an attempt will be made to set forth some of their mystical doctrines which have in some instances degenerated into these strange spectacles and orgies of emotion.

CHAPTER I

The Early History of Sufism

Ṣūfism is that mode of the religious life in Islam in which the emphasis is placed, not so much on the performances of external ritual as on the activities of the inner-self—in other words it signifies Islamic mysticism. This term has been popularized by Western writers, but the one in common use among Muslims is *Taṣawwuf*, while its cognate, Ṣūfī, is used for the mystic.

THE DERIVATION OF 'SUFI'

A variety of opinions exists among scholars as to the meaning and derivation of the word Ṣūfī. Some of the Ṣūfīs themselves associate it with the Arabic *ṣafā* (purity). Others again see in it an historical allusion to *Aṣḥābu'ṣ-ṣafā*, or the people of the *bench*. They spent their time in worship, imitation of the Prophet and searching the Quran and Ḥadīth. They did not engage in any worldly business; men who married were expelled from their company; they wore little dress and were devoted to poverty; for a living they gathered sticks and they often fed on fallen dates; Muhammad fed them and commanded his companions to do likewise.[1] The porch of the temple (i. e. where they used to assemble on the benches) became their mansions, and hence they obtained their name. But the word, however, can be traced with greater certainty to *Ṣūf*, wool, inasmuch as we know that in the early days of Islam, woollen garments were frequently worn by ascetics, not only as their distinctive garb, but also as a symbol of their voluntary poverty, and renunciation of the world and all its pleasures. [1]

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[1] Bukhari, *Sahih* Book 8 Ch. 58; Book 9 Ch. 41; Ibn Sa'ad, *Tabaqat*, Vol. I.

According to Qushayri (A. D. 988) and Shihābu'd-Din Suhrawardī (A. D. 1234) the term Ṣūfī first came into use at the end of the second century after Hijra (A. D. 815), and their claim receives further support from the fact that the word does not find a place either in the *Sihah-i-Sittah* compiled in the 9th and 10th century A. D. or even in the Qāmūs, the standard Arabic Dictionary compiled in A. D. 1414

THE BEGINNINGS OF SUFISM

It is asserted by Muslims that Ṣūfism had its rise in Muhammad himself, and that all the religious orders trace their lines of succession back to him. He is said to have been the recipient of a two-fold revelation, the one embodied in the contents of the Quran, the other within his heart. The former was meant for all and is binding on all; the latter was to be transmitted to the chosen few through these lines of succession. Hence it is that Muhammad's knowledge in popular language is described as being *'ilm-i-safīna*, book knowledge, and *ilm-i-sīna*, heart knowledge. The former is incorporated in the doctrinal teaching of the 'Ulamā; the latter is strictly esoteric, the mystical teaching of the Ṣūfīs.

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[1] Shaikh Abu'n—Nasr Surrāj. *Kitabu'l-Luma'* introduction: Shaikh 'Aliu'l-Hujwiri: *Kashfu l'-Mahjub*, Ch. 3.

As a matter of fact Ṣūfism passed through several phases in the process of its development. Undoubtedly the germ of Ṣūfism is found in certain passages of the Quran itself. In it are to be found also justification and support for the mystical tendencies so strongly manifested by some of Muhammad's companions and friends, tendencies which inevitably resulted in a life of detachment, poverty and mortification. So that one may say that the companions of Muhammad and their successors were, in a sense, forerunners of the Ṣūfīs.

THE EARLIEST FORM OF SUFISM

The Ṣūfism of these early Muslims was characterized by the renunciation of worldly pleasures and an intense fear of Allah and His judgments. It was not till some three hundred years after the death of Muhammad, that such doctrines as appear to be pantheistic came to be outstanding features of Ṣūfism. In other words the early Ṣūfīs were strictly speaking ascetics, with poverty as the ideal of their religious life.

Ibn Khaldūn (A.D. 1406) has expressed a somewhat similar view in the Prolegomena to his great historical work: "The way of the Ṣūfīs was regarded by the ancient Muslims and their illustrious men—the Companions of the Prophet (*aṣ-Ṣaḥāba*), the Successors (*at-tābi'ūn*), and the generation that came after them—as the way of Truth and Salvation. To be assiduous in piety, to give up all else for God's sake, to turn away from worldly gauds and vanities, to renounce pleasure; wealth and power, which are the general objects of human ambition, to abandon society and to lead in seclusion a life devoted to the service of God—these are the fundamental principles of Ṣūfism which prevailed among the companions and Muslims of the old time."[1]

ASCETICISM, RESULTING FROM THE ISLAMIC CONCEPTION OF ALLAH

It thus becomes evident that the earliest phase of Ṣūfism was a form of asceticism, and this was a product of Islam itself, since it arose as one of the direct consequences of the Islamic conception of Allah.

The Traditions provide us with striking illustrations of what has just been said, in the lives of certain companions of the Prophet and their successors who had an exaggerated consciousness of the sin of disobedience and extreme dread of Divine punishment. Thus we read that Tamīmu'd-Dārī, one of the Prophet's companions, who was formerly a Christian, passed the whole night until daybreak, repeating a single verse of the Quran (Ch. 45:20) "Do those who commit evil deeds count that we will make them like those who believe and work righteous deeds, equal in their life and in their death? Ill do they judge!"[2] Abu'd-Dardā, another of the companions, used to say: "If ye knew what ye shall see after death, ye would not eat food nor drink water with any relish; as for myself I wish that I were a tree which is lopped and then devoured." [1] Another tradition to the same effect is recorded by Ibn Sa'ad and Ibn Ḥanbal that one day 'Uthmān b. Maẕ'ūn said to Muhammad: "O Apostle of God, my heart urges me to become a devotee; to go to the mountains and adopt the monastic life; that I should take to wandering on the face of the earth and get rid of all my wealth; that I should divorce my wife, Khawla, eat no meat and abstain from the use of perfumes." [2]

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[1] *Muqaddima* (Beyrut, 1900) p. 467.

[2] Sha'rani, *Lawaqihu'l-Anwar* (Cairo A. D. 1299) p. 31.

A further reason for the adoption of a life of asceticism is to be found in the political condition of the period immediately following the reigns of the first four Khalīfas. For there were many pious Muslims who, becoming disgusted with the tyrannical and impious rule of the Umayyad Khalīfas. withdrew from the world to seek peace of soul in a life of seclusion.

The outstanding figure in this early ascetic movement was Ḥasan of Baṣra (A. D. 728). It is said that the fear of God seized him so mightily that, in the words of his biographer, "it seemed as though hell-fire had been created for him alone." It is said that one day a friend saw him weeping and asked him the cause. "I weep," he replied," for fear that I have done something unintentionally, or committed some fault, or spoken some word which is unpleasing to God, then He may have said, 'Begone, for thou hast no more favour with me.' "[1]

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[1] *Ibid.*

[2] Ibn Sa'ad, *Tabaqat* Vol. III. Part I. p, 287. (Leyden 1904-8) Ibn Hanbal, *Musnad*, Vol. I. 176 and 183 (Cairo 1313 A.H.)

Towards the end of the first century A. H. there arose a class of people who were not merely ascetics but something more. In them the life of seclusion led on to contemplation, and contemplation to vision and ecstasy. At this stage renunciation and poverty were regarded by the ascetics not as meritorious works in themselves, but as expressions of one's selfless devotion to God. In the earlier days of Islam renunciation and its rewards were conceived of in a material sense. To have as few goods as possible was believed to be the surest means of gaining paradise. The following illustration will serve the purpose of showing the ideal of poverty as held by the ascetics of those days. It is said that a certain man dreamed that he saw Mālik b. Dīnār being led into paradise. Mālik was admitted before his companion. The dreamer cried out in astonishment, for he had always thought that Muḥammad b. Wāsi' had the superior claim. A voice explained: "Yes, but Muḥammad b. Wāsi' possessed two shirts and Mālik only one."

But to the ascetics of this later period the ideal of poverty meant not merely lack of wealth, but lack of the very desire for it, as their phrase had it, it signified the empty heart as well as the empty hand. Perhaps nothing marks the development in the outlook of the later Ṣūfīs more than this change in their conception of true poverty. It came very close to the Christian conception of it as defined by a modern writer in the following words: "By poverty the mystic means an utter self-stripping, the casting off of immaterial as well as material wealth, a complete detachment from all finite things."[1]

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[1] Faridu'd-Din 'Attar, *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliya*, (Lahore) p. 28. Translated by Prof. Nicholson, Part I, p. 37.

These early Ṣūfīs, however, were orthodox Muslims in regard to their beliefs and practices. They laid great emphasis on certain points in the teachings of the Quran and Traditions. They had not yet begun to indulge in metaphysical and theosophical speculations, but confined their thoughts to matters bearing on practical theology. The distinctive features of their creed consisted in self-abandonment, self-mortification, fervent piety, and quietism carried to the extreme.

The outstanding figures during this period were Ibrāhīm b. Adham (d. A. D. 783), Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ (d. A. D. 801), Rābi'a al-'Adwiyya (d. A. D. 802)

Ibrāhīm b. Adham is described by the Ṣūfī biographers to have been the king of Balkh. His royal dignity is indicated by the fact that when he walked abroad forty golden scimitars and forty golden maces were borne in front of him and behind. One day, while hunting, he was warned by an unseen voice which cried, "Awake! wert thou created for this?" Therefore he renounced his throne and all the world's pleasures for a life of asceticism and piety. One of his sayings is reported as follows: "O God, Thou knowest that in mine eyes the eight paradises weigh no more than the wing of a gnat compared with that honour which Thou hast shown me in giving me Thy love, or that familiarity which Thou hast given to me by the commemoration of Thy name, or that freedom from all else which Thou hast vouchsafed to me when I meditate on the greatness of Thy glory" [1]

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[1] Underhill, *Mysticism;* p. 205.

Fuḍayl b. 'Iyūḍ, before he became an ascetic, was a captain of banditti. It is said that one night when he was determined to gratify a lawless passion, he heard some pious person reciting the following verse of the Quran. "Is it not high time for those who believe to open their hearts to compunction?" These words pricked him to the heart and produced in him profound contrition. "Yea, Lord" he exclaimed, "it is indeed high time." Thus broken in spirit by sense of his sin, he passed the night in solemn meditation. The next morning he renounced all his possessions and became a disciple of 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid b. Zayd, a successor of Ḥasan of Baṣra. [2] In time he became widely celebrated for his sanctity, and was appointed a vice-gerent and successor by his master. Fuḍayl gave a rule of life to his disciples, which is believed to be the original monastic institute of Islam.

Rābi'a belonged to the tribe of Qays b. 'Adī from which she was known as al-'Adawiyya or al-Qaysiyya, but she is most commonly spoken of as Baṣari (al-Baṣariyya), from Baṣra, her birth place. Farīdu'd-Dīn

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[1] cp. Prof. Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs.* p. 232.

[2] 'Attar; *op. cit. p.* 69.

'Aṭṭār, the author of the Memoirs of the Saints, speaks of her in the following words: "She the secluded one was clothed with the clothing of purity, and was on fire with love and longing, and was enamoured of the desire to approach her Lord and be consumed in His glory. She was a second Mary and a spotless woman."[1]

She was born in the poorest of homes, and her father and mother died when she was only a little girl. She was fourth of a family of sisters, as her name indicates. They were all scattered by a famine and she was sold as a slave for six dirhams. Her master made her work hard. She, however, continually fasted in the daytime and carried out her appointed tasks. One night her master happened to look down through a window of the house and saw Rābi'a absorbed in prayer, and he heard her praying: "O my Lord, Thou knowest that the desire of my heart is to obey Thee, and that the light of my eyes is in the service of Thy court. If the matter rested with me, I should not cease for one hour from Thy service, but Thou hast made me subject to a creature and much of my time is spent in his service." While she was still in prayer, he saw a lamp above her head suspended without a chain, and the whole house was illuminated by its light. The master, greatly afraid at the sight, set her free at the dawn of the day. Thenceforth she devoted herself to the love of God, living a life of extreme poverty.

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[1] 'Attar, *op. cit. p.* 54.

As an ascetic Rābiʿa followed all her life the path of *tawakkul*, the resignation and dependence on God, with unwavering step to the end. Again and again she was offered assistance by her friends but she as often declined it and her customary reply to those who desired to help her was: "Verily, I should be ashamed to ask for worldly things from Him to whom the world belongs; how, then should I ask for them from those to whom it does not belong." Another story to the same effect tells how one day when Ḥasan of Baṣra came to visit her he saw a wealthy man of Basra at the door of Rābiʿa's cell with a purse of gold, weeping. Ḥasan asked him why he was weeping. He replied: "On account of the ascetic of this age; if it was not for her blessings, mankind would have perished. I have brought something for her and my fear is that she may refuse it. If you plead for me, she may accept it." Ḥasan went in and gave the message to Rābiʿa, who looked at him out of the corner of her eye and said, "Shall He who provides for those who revile Him, not provide for those who love Him?. He does not refuse sustenance to one who speaks unworthily of Him, How then should He refuse sustenance to one whose soul is overflowing with love to Him? Ever since I have known Him, I have turned my back upon mankind."

Rābiʿa's great contribution to the Islamic mysticism was the conception of prayer as free and intimate intercourse with God. Prayer, even the prescribed *namāz* and other religious observances were not regarded by her as meritorious acts, or as means of avoiding hell and of gaining paradise, but they were to her the means of gaining access to God's presence. Hers is an outstanding figure in Islamic hagiology as of one who held communion with God, and gave utterance to prayers which were the spontaneous outpouring of her heart to God. Among her prayers are the following:

"O my Lord, whatever share of this world thou dost bestow on me, bestow on Thine enemies, and whatever share of the next world Thou dost give me, give it to Thy friends. Thou art enough for me." Another runs as follows:

"O my Lord, if I worship Thee from fear of Hell, burn me in Hell, and if I worship Thee from hope of Paradise, exclude me thence, but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake then withhold not from me Thine Eternal Beauty."[1]

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[1] For Rabi'a's life see *Tadhkiratu 'l-Awliya*, Professsor Nicholson's Translation and Margaret Smith's *Rabi'a the Mystic*.

CHAPTER II

Later Developments

(*a*) Speculative Elements in Ṣūfism

While Ṣūfism was thus gaining ground and attracting the pious by its promise of escape from formalism and its encouragement of ideals of personal devotion, it was soon subjected to a further modification, the beginnings of which may be traced to the time of Ma'mūn in the eight century. That was an age of speculation. Ma'mūn encouraged the discussion of religion by representatives of various creeds and in this manner speculative elements were soon assimilated into Ṣūfism. Now the ascetic, while not losing altogether his ascetic ideal, tends more and more to centre his attention in Gnosis and the *Zāhid* (ascetic) becomes the '*Arif* (gnostic). As Professor Macdonald says, "We pass over the boundary between Thomas ā Kempis and St. Francis to Eckhart and Suso."[1] Neo-Platonism played its part in this change but not exclusively. Persian, Indian, and Buddhistic thought each had its share, and also Christian speculative mysticism after the type of Pseudo-Dionysius the Areopagite and Bar Sudhaili the Syrian. It would be a mistake to conclude that Ṣūfism in its speculative form was derived solely from some such source or sources or, that it contains no original elements. It would be equally a mistake to regard it as a unity, although some unifying principles can be discerned in it and, of course, Islam lent it a superficial unity. But it is not within the scope of the purpose of this book to go at all deeply into such matters.

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[1] D. B. Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 180

It is sufficient to remark here that towards the end of the eighth century of the Christian era, there appeared in Ṣūfism a new phase of its development. The old asceticism and quietism, described in the previous chapter, were subordinated to theosophical and gnostic speculations. The great teachers of Ṣūfism in whose sayings the influence of such ideas is discernible, were Ma‘rūfu’l-Karkhī, Abū Sulaymānu’d-Dārānī and Dhu’n-Nūn Miṣrī. These three, as has been pointed out by Professor Nicholson, lived and died in the period which began with the accession of Hārūnu’r-Rashīd and ended with the death of Mutawakkil, that is, from A. D. 786-861.[1] During these seventy-five years Hellenic culture greatly influenced the current of Islamic thought. Works of the Greek philosophers were translated and eagerly studied. Ḥunayn b. Isḥāq (A. D. 809-873) and his son, who were Christians, translated Plato, Aristotle and Porphyry. A strong rationalistic movement resulted, under which Ṣūfism took on its new form and was so moulded that it could in the course of its later development absorb other speculative elements. Thus certain other extraneous elements such as theosophy, gnosticism, ecstasy and pantheism became characteristic features of Ṣūfism,

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[1] Professor Nicholson, *A Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 232.

Ma'rūfu'l-Karkhī (A. D. 815) and Abū Sulaymānu'd-Dārānī (A. D. 830), both natives of Mesopotamia, were the first to give expression to theosophical and gnostic ideas. Certain utterances of theirs which have come down to us contain such expressions. The former is reported to have said that Ṣūfism is "the apprehension of divine realities and renunciation of human possessions." Another of his sayings runs as follows: "The saints of God are known by three signs. Their thought is of God, their dwelling is with God, their business is in God."[1]

The following are some of the sayings of Abū Sulaymān: "None refrains from the lusts of this world except him in whose heart there is a light which always keeps him busied with the world to come." "Whenever a man on account of his actions is in despair of his future welfare, that despair shows him the way to salvation and happiness and Divine mercy. It opens to him the door of joy, purges away sensual corruption from his heart, and reveals to it Divine mysteries."[1]

In the same century we come to the great mystic Dhu'n-Nūn Miṣrī, who gave a definite turn to Ṣūfī doctrine by introducing into it teachings about ecstasy and the theory of gnosis. His repentance is attributed to his meeting with desert ascetics. His reputation as an alchemist and a worker of miracles is the theme of many a later Ṣūfī writer. Professor Nicholson regards him as the source of the Neo-Platonist elements in Islam. When we remember that he was an Egyptian, it is not too much to suppose that the school of Alexandria had somewhat to do with the shaping of his thought. The introduction of the idea that true knowledge of God is to be obtained in ecstasy is attributed to him. A story is told of how he fell into a swoon while at prayer, and apparently he did not look unkindly at music in so far as it induced this condition of ecstasy. There is then in his advocacy of ecstasy a link with Neo-Platonism. It is said that he described the mystic apprehension as the communication which God makes of his spiritual light to the depths of man's heart. It seems certain that D͟hu'n-Nūn was a man of great learning and it was that which in all probability got him a bad name and roused suspicions of heterodoxy. Elements of speculation and free-thought are not lacking in his recorded words and acts. His present-day apologists are sometimes concerned to explain these so that orthodoxy may not be outraged. Such, for example, is his advising a fellow ascetic to omit his ritual prayer. But in all the accounts of him he appears as a saintly figure, and this was the impression he made on the zealous K͟halīfa Mutawakkil by whom he was first imprisoned on suspicion of heresy but later released and held in high esteem. Some of the stories told of him remind one of the Christian ascetics of the Thebaid. In Jāmī's *Nafḥatu'l-Uns*, which contains notices of most of the Ṣūfī saints, we read that he was the first Shayk͟h to profess the tenets of Ṣūfism. Among the sayings recorded of him is the following: "There are two sorts of repentance, the repentance of conversion and the repentance of shame. The former is simply repentance through fear of God's punishment and the latter is repentance through shame at God's mercy."

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[1] See, *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliya.*

Somewhat later in the same century appeared Abū Yazīdu'l-Bisṭāmī, or Bāyazīd as he is called, one of the earliest Ṣūfīs, regarded by many as of the pantheistic school. He was of Persian ancestry and belonged to Bisṭām a town in the Province of Qumis near the south-east corner of the Caspian Sea. His grandfather, Sharwasān, was a Zoroastrian, and his master in Sūfism was Abū 'Alī of Sind. Abū Yazīd first propounded the doctrine of *fanā*, annihilation, in its negative aspect, and in his teaching Ṣūfism came to be practically identified by several with pantheism. Some of his sayings are as follows: "Beneath this cloak of mine there is nothing but God." "Glory to me! How great is my majesty!" "Verily I am God; there is no god beside me, so worship me!" [1]

But the name which came to be held as the greatest of all among the early Ṣūfīs thought to be pantheists was that of Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr, a wool-carder by trade though some say his name is simply one adopted to mark the unpretentious and humble character of the ascetic or a nickname given with the same intention. However this may be, Ḥallāj, a name by which he is known, means wool-carder, Manṣūr, the name by which he is most frequently known, is really the name of his father who was a convert from Zoroastrianism to Islam. Ḥusayn was a Persian. He was born in A. D. 858. In the first place he was the disciple of several Ṣūfī teachers, in particular, Tustarī, Junayd and 'Amr Makkī, but he finally broke with them. He travelled as a missionary in Khurāsān, Ahwaz, Persia, India, and Turkistān. After his third pilgrimage to Mecca he settled at Baghdad and gathered many disciples about him. He was a man of original genius and vehement spirit, a profound mystic and daring metaphysician. He has been variously described as a dangerous intriguer, a Christian, a rank blasphemer, a charlatan and a martyred saint. In the year A.D. 922 after eight years' imprisonment, he was scourged, mutilated, hung on a gibbet, and finally beheaded and burned. The charge against him was that he had made use of the phrase *Ana'l-Ḥaqq*, I am the Truth, and that this was a claim to divinity and, as such, blasphemy. The chief of his works which have come down to us is *Kitābu't-Tawāsīn*, which has been edited and annotated by Louis Massignon (1913). This book is written in Arabic rhymed prose. Each of its eleven sections, with the exception of the last, is called *Ṭā Sin*, as "The *Ṭā-Sīn* of the Decree," "The *Ṭā-Sīn* of the Unity," and "The *Ṭā Sīn* of the mysteries of the Unity", etc. These names are from the two unexplained letters at the beginning of certain chapters of the Quran. The resultant name of the whole book is an artificial plural formed from the compound of *Ṭā* and *Sīn*. Massignon has most probably done all that is possible in the interpretation of Ḥallāj with the material at present available, If we had all the material to reconstruct the doctrine of Ḥallāj, and could follow him in his travels, much that is obscure in later Ṣūfī speculation would, in all probability, be clear to us. The style adopted by Ḥallāj is recondite and allusive. It is vehement "hyperdialectic", as Massignon so aptly calls it. His editor makes it abundantly plain that the ejaculation *Ana'l-Ḥaqq* was not the mere raving of a demented mystic out of himself in ecstasy, but only one mode of expressing a deep conviction and, in addition, the formula of a philosophy, Later conceptions of *huwivyat* and *aniyyat* are no doubt definitely related to this philosophy, and a study of Ibn 'Arabī and Jīlī throws light on the meaning of Ḥallāj in his mystical theology. Of this more will be said in a later chapter.

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[1] See *Tadhkiratu'l Awliya*, the Chapter on Abu Yazid.

One of the reasons why some have thought that Ḥallāj was a secret Christian is the very high place which he gives to Jesus in his system. Jesus is the Seal of the Saints, while Muhammad is the Seal of the Prophets. Jesus is the perfect witness and representative of God, *Al-Ḥaqq*. He is the deified man. His being is in God. Take for example that famous tercet in which Ḥallāj extols the manifestation of God in Man.

> "Praise be to Him Who manifested His humanity, the secret of His glorious divinity,
> And then visibly appeared to His creation in the form of one who eats and drinks.

> So that His creation could perceive Him as in the flicker of an eyelid."

In the first part of this the reference is to Adam and in the second part to Jesus. Both Ibn 'Arabī and Jīlī, among others, follow Ḥallāj in this conception, and the former has that extraordinary statement that Jesus is the Creator who restores to life and the creature who is restored. It is difficult to escape the conclusion that Ḥallāj's doctrine of *Lāhūt* and *Nāsūt* shows evidence of the influence of the Christian doctrine of the two natures in the person of Christ, for these are the very words used in Syriac to express the divine and human natures respectively.

The circumstances of Ḥallāj's execution were most revolting. Condemned to be crucified, when he saw the cross and the nails he turned to the people standing round him and exhorted them not to let the spectacle of his sufferings lead them to doubt the goodness of God. "God treats me in this matter as a friend treats his friend. He passes me the cup of suffering which He has first drank Himself." When he was put to the torture, he is said to have prayed, and if the words we have from Ibrāhīm b. Fatik are really the words he used, then we have in this final prayer of his the revelation of a great spirit. For thus he prayed: "O Lord, I entreat Thee, give me to be thankful for the grace Thou hast bestowed upon me, in that Thou hast concealed from others' eyes what Thou hast made manifest to me of the glories of Thy shining countenance and in that Thou hast made it lawful for me to behold the mysteries of Thine inner consciousness which Thou hast made unlawful to others. As for these Thy servants who, zealous for Thy religion and desirous of Thy favour, have gathered to kill me, forgive and have mercy upon them, for verily if Thou hadst revealed to them what Thou hast hid from them, then should I not have suffered this anguish. Praise be to Thee in whatsoever Thou decreest."[1]

(b) Ṣūfism wins recognition in Islam.

It is not a matter for surprise to find that because of this later mixture of what appeared to orthodox *'Ulemā* as theosophical and pantheistic elements, the Ṣūfīs came to be regarded as heretics, if not actual unbelievers (*kāfir*). It was not till the time of the renowned Imām al-G͟hazālī that Ṣūfism attained a firm and assured position in Islam.

Abū Ḥāmid Muḥammadu'l-G͟hazālī, generally known by the title of *Ḥujjatu 'l-Islam*, the proof of Islam, was a native of Tūs near Meshed in K͟hurāsān. Left an orphan at a comparatively early age, he was brought up by a Ṣūfī friend of his father's, and afterwards studied at one of the colleges of his native city. Subsequently he went for further study to Nishāpūr. He seems not to have been attracted much in his earlier years by Ṣūfism but early showed marks of the scepticism which is an outstanding feature of his temperament. He had turned from Ṣūfism to speculation before he was twenty years of age. *Taqlīd*, or the slavish following of tradition became anathema to him. A man of brilliant gifts, he soon found his way to the Seljūqī court and under the patronage of the great minister Niẓāmu 'l-Mulk, he became a teacher in the Niẓāmiyya College at Baghdād. This was in the year A.D. 1092. While here he sank into complete agnosticism. Philosophy he studied but came to the conclusion that it was a vain thing. He wrote books on canon law (*fiqh*) and entered into controversy with the irreconcilable *Ta' līmites*, who were a political force to be reckoned with. His restless mind and sceptical temperament, associated with a deeply religious nature, could give this man no rest. He seems to be trying to save something from the ruins of his agnosticism He tried philosophy and found it wanting, and finally returned to Ṣūfism.

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[1] See Massignon *Kitab al Tawasin*, Parsis 1913, and Quatre textes inedites relatif 'a la biographie d 'al-Hosayn Ibn Mansour al-Hallaj (1914).

He experienced a period of spiritual crisis and conversion. The fear of God was upon him and the idea of the coming judgement was ever present. In A.D. 1095. physically and nervously exhausted, he was converted. He turned his back on the promises of the world and the rich prizes which his intellect might have commanded and became a wandering devotee, seeking in the ascetic life peace of mind and heart, and striving all the while for a new rationale of his religious experience. The system which resulted was pragmatic. The ground of his assurance was his experience, and to this all speculation and philosophy must be considered subordinate. He might disdain philosophy as the ground of belief and had to repudiate it as it was taught by contemporary exponents, but he could yet use its methods to clarify his thought and give a form to his intuitive pragmatism. Indeed the influence of all the stages through which he had passed can be seen in his mature works, and he is himself a mirror of all the intellectual activity of his age, On every page of the *Iḥyā'u 'l-'Ulūm-id-Dīn*, the Revivification of the Religious Sciences, the traditionalist is exhibited. He employs dialectic (*'Ilmu 'l-Kalām*) against the dialecticians (*mutakallimūn*). In answer to the esoteric doctrine of the Ismā'īlīs and kindred spirits, he too has his secret teaching, hinted at but never fully elaborated in *Mishkātu 'l-Anwār*, The Niche for Lights. But all is made to serve the cause of *Kashf*, and bows to the sovereignty of his all-commanding spiritual experience. Without that mystic illumination his intellectual life would have fallen into complete scepticism.

His great achievement is in giving the clearest and highest expression to orthodox Muslim theology. He is the greatest theologian Islam has ever produced. His work has given a place to Ṣūfism in orthodox Islam. This he has done partly by modifying the extreme pantheistic tendency of Ṣūfism. His work shows evidence of Christian influence. Scriptural and apocryphal sayings of Christ are ever on his lips. In line with this influence we find that his view of the eighth stage of the Ṣūfī path, Unity with God, is no longer conceived in the negative manner which would regard the goal as absorption in God and identification with Him. This, in his opinion, is sin. G͟hazālī's view is much closer to the Christian conception of an ethical unity which is the beginning of a new life. So here we find him breaking away from the abstruse and metaphysical conception and maintaining the religiously and spiritually valuable. *Tawḥīd* and *Tawakkul* Unity and Trust, are inseparably bound up together. In the *Iḥyā'u'l 'Ulūm* we also find a complete spiritualising of prayer, and insistence on prayer from the heart rather than mere performance of ritual. Again and again he stands out as the champion of the ethical and spiritual. This was no mean service to perform and it is doubtful whether Islam has ever really risen to the point of realisation of all that G͟hazālī has done or would do for it.

But while we can say all this it must still be said that there are distinct weaknesses in G͟hazālī's view of *tawḥīd* or unity, and some Ṣūfī interpreters would use his words to establish *tawḥīdu'l af'āl*, unity of acts, in such a way as to make it impossible to conceive that there is any actor or originator of action in the universe but God. This is, of course, the extreme doctrine of *Qadr*, or predestination, which results in a pantheism of will which is hardly less pernicious than other forms of pantheism. We give here a translation of part of the fourth volume of the *Iḥyā'u'l-'Ulūm* on this subject.[1]

"There is no actor other than God, and all things which exist, creature and provision, giving and withholding, death and life, gain and loss, wealth and poverty and everything for which a name can be found, the Cause, Originator, and Initiator is God who has no partner. When this dawns upon a man then he will not look anywhere else but will be in fear and awe of Him and put utter trust and confidence in Him only. For He alone is the Doer. There is none else........................A wayfarer who had the Light of God as a torch for his path saw a piece of paper the surface of which had become black with ink. Said he: 'Your face was white as wool; why have you made it black?' The paper made answer: 'What justice is this that you should ask *me* such a question. I didn't make myself black. Ask the ink, for it was sitting in the ink-pot which is its dwelling and it came out and made an assault by force on my surface.' Said he, 'You are right,' and then asked the ink, 'What is the reason why you blacken the face of the paper?' The ink said, 'Well, you ask me! I was sitting quietly in the ink-pot. I never intended to leave that place but the pen forced me by its wicked desire, exiled me from my home and scattered my company all over this page......but why labour the obvious? You should ask the pen..............' The pen said: 'I was a reed which stood among the green trees on a river bank. The hand came with a knife and pulling me up by the roots, stripped me of bark, tore my clothes, cut me in pieces and then pared me and split my head and fashioned my point for writing. Then it dipped me in the ink and exacts service from me, moving me along on my head. Why then do you question me and thus rub salt into my wound? Go away; enquire from the hand.' "

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[1] *Ihya'u'l-'Ulum*, Vol. IV, 213.

In this way the interrogation is carried back and back through the power which moves the hand to the will which uses the power and the reason and knowledge which instruct the will. When knowledge is questioned it excuses itself on the ground that it is but a figure drawn on the white surface of the heart and the question then proceeds upwards through the transcendent spheres till at last the one Agent is reached to whom must be ascribed all acts. The argument moves on with force and humour but the implications with regard to human responsibility are obscured by this *tour de force*.

On the other hand, al-Ghazā'ī appeals to man and regards him as responsible for his acts and there can be no doubt that he did a great deal to counteract the antinomian tendencies in Ṣūfism against which Qushayrī had protested.

Reference has been made above to the *Mishkātu'l Anwār*. In this we find an exposition of the Light Verse in the Quran (Sura 24 :35). The result is a sort of philosophy of illumination. Antitheses of light and darkness remind us of the traditional Persian philosophy, but there are in this work of al-Ghazālī suggestions of Platonism and even Logos doctrine, The book presents many problems. It gives us another glimpse of a many-sided nature. Shihābu'd-Dīn Yaḥayā Suhrawardī is said to have built his philosophy upon this doctrine of illumination, and yet he considered it to be contrary to Islam, and his uncompromising attitude brought him to an early death.

(c) The Classic Period of Ṣūfism and its Ṣūfī Poets.

In the thirteenth century A.D. began the classic period of Ṣūfism. This new epoch was marked by the advent of three great mystical poets of Persia. These were Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār, Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī and Shaykh Sa'dī The writings of these poets have greatly influenced the religious thought of Muslims in the East and they are now very widely and eagerly studied. No account of Ṣūfism would be complete without some reference to them so we propose to give a brief sketch of all three.

1. FARIDU'D-DIN ATTAR

Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār was born about A.D. 1119, eight years after the death of al-Ghazā'ī, in Nishāpūr. The name 'Aṭṭār signifies one who deals in '*iṭr*, or attar of roses, and other perfumes, but in its wider significance means a druggist. He, like his father, kept a sort of pharmacy where he was consulted by patients for whom he prescribed, dispensing his own medicines. It was while he was thus engaged in selling perfumes and drugs that the call came to him to follow the religious life. Dawlat Shāh, in his *Memoirs of the Poets*, relates that one day, as he was standing among his bales surrounded by his clerks and servants, a holy anchorite appeared before him at the door, and gazed around with strange wild eyes, fast filling with tears. Farīdu'd-

Dīn sharply rebuked him for his seeming curiosity and bade him go away. "That is easily done," said the darwish, "I have little to bear along with me: nothing but this poor habit. But you? When the time comes for you to go away with all this costly merchandise, how will you set about it? You will do well to arrange before that inevitable hour arrives, about the packing up of your treasures." 'Aṭṭār was profoundly affected by the words of the darwish and gave up his shop, abandoning his profession and entirely renouncing all his worldly affairs.

Entering the monastery of Shaykh Ruknu'd-Dīn, who was then one of the most distinguished masters of the contemplative life, he gave himself up wholly to the things of God, so that at the close of his life he is said to have attained "the most perfect degree of spirituality." Finally he met his death at the hands of the Mongol invaders under Chengiz Khān (A. D. 1229-30)

'Aṭṭār must have spent the greater part of a very long life in literary work, for the number of his works is said to have been equal to the number of chapters in the Quran, one hundred and fourteen. But there is much that is legendary in what we read of him and this statement must be an exaggeration, for the number of his writings preserved or mentioned by name hardly exceeds thirty. Of these *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliyā*, the Memoirs of the Saints, is the only one written in prose. The best known of his poetical compositions are the *Pandnāma*, or the Book of Counsels, which is still widely read in the East, and *Manṭiqu't-Ṭayr*, or the Discourses of the Birds, which is to be found in various editions, an early European edition being that of Garcin de Tassy (Paris 1857, 1863) with a French translation. The *Pandnāma* is a rather tedious book of maxims but generally speaking 'Aṭṭār has a very clear style and shows considerable ingenuity in choice of subject. He is very fond of paradox. Take for example the way he expresses the theme of the Unity of all existence.

> The world is full of Thee and thou art not in the world.
> All are lost in Thee and Thou art not in the midst.
> Thy silence is from Thy speech;
> Thine hiding from Thine appearing.
> I see the way to Thee by means of the smallest atom;
> Then I see the two worlds as the face of Allah.
> For dualism there is no way into Thy presence.
> Thou and Thy power are the whole universe.
> A man of eloquent speech has well said in respect to the Essence
> That Oneness is the dropping of all adjuncts.
> There is no doubt as to the meaning of what I have said.
> Thou art without eyes and there is no Universe ('*Alam*) or Knower ('*Alim*) but one. 1

In this last stanza it is possible to read either word given in brackets and the implication is that the Universe and the Knower (a name of God) are interchangeable terms.

The *Manṭiqu'ṭ-Ṭayr* is a sort of Pilgrim's Progress with birds for pilgrims. In it, in allegorical fashion, is depicted the ascending stages of the Mystic's progress

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1 Shibli, *She'ru'l 'Ajam* Vol. 2, p. 15 ff, (Ma'arif Press, Azamgarh).

to Unity with God. The birds gather together under the leadership of the Solomon of the Birds, the Hoopoe, to seek the *Sīmurgh* their mysterious King. The greater part of the book is taken up with his counsel to the assembled birds and anecdotes of pilgrims of the Ṣūfī Path. Then the birds set out and after traversing the seven valleys of Search, Love, Mystic Apprehension, Detachment, Unity, Bewilderment and Annihilation—only thirty birds (*sī* thirty and *murgh*, bird) survived the privations and perils of the way and came to the threshold of the *Sīmurgh*'s abode. Here there is a fanciful etymology for the name *Simurgh*, which lends itself to the denouement in the identification of the thirty birds with the *Sīmurgh* In reality the name *Sīmurgh* is a compound of the Pahlawī *seen*, the name of a bird of prey, with *murgh* The *Sīmurgh* is associated with early Persian mythology and stories of it are told in the *Shāhnāma* of Firdaw-ī.

The birds arrive at the threshold of the King's palace, and the chamberlain of Grace admits them into the Royal Presence where they are presented with the record of their deeds. Says 'Aṭṭār: "Seeing the record of their deeds those thirty birds were so ashamed that their very souls and bodies sunk into utter annihilation. But being thus purged and purified they emerged into new life by the Light of the Divine Presence. But now a new sort of amazement seized upon them, What they had done and left undone in the past was utterly obliterated from their breasts. It was as though they had changed identity. The Sun of the Near Presence shone from *them*, and that life by its rays illuminated them all. By their own reflection the thirty birds saw the face of the *Sīmurg͟h*. They were that and it was they. Lost in astonishment they could not tell whether they were this or that. Then they demanded of the *Sīmurg͟h* what this great mystery might mean. He tells them that his nature is like unto a mirror. Looking on them they perceive their true selves". Thus the birds became lost in the *Sīmurg͟h* and the shadows of phenomenal existence faded out in the light of the Sun of true existence.

Here we return to the older idea of *Fanā*, or annihilation. How far was ʻAṭṭār indebted to his stay in Hindustan for this picture of *Māya* and release? How far also are we to see the influence of that conception of the "Veiled in Light" who constitute the fourth division of mankind in al-G͟hazā ī's *Mishkāt* and who have utterly attained to the end and goal?

2. JALALU'D-DIN RUMI

Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī, commonly known among Muslims as *Mawlānā*, our Master, or simply Rūmī, meaning one who lived in Asia Minor, where the greater part of his life was spent, was the most eminent Ṣūfī poet whom Persia has ever produced. He was the author of the most widely known poetical work on mysticism, the *Mat͟hnawī-i-Maʻnawī*, Spiritual Couplets, frequently referred to as the *Mat͟hnawī Sharīf*, the Holy Mat͟hnawī. It is also said to be the Quran in Pahlawī, (i. e. in the Persian language). No other literature on mysticism is so loved and studied, at least in India, as this great work.

Jalālu'd-Dīn was born in Balkh in A. D. 1205. His descent is traced to Abū Bakr, and his father was Bahā'u'd-Dīn who was related to Khwārizm Shāh. In those days Fakhru'd-Dīn Rāzī, the philosopher, was friendly with Khwārizm Shāh and Bahā'u'd-Dīn was opposed to philosophy. Khwārizm Shāh was jealous of the influence which Bahā'u'd-Dīn had and so was Rāzī and the result of it was that Bahā'u'd-Dīn found it expedient to leave Balkh. This took place when Jalālu'd-Dīn was five years old. They went off to Nishāpūr where it is said the aged 'Aṭṭār met them and blessed the young child. The family wandered from city to city in Syria and Asia Minor and at last came to Quniya, the ancient Inconium, when the lad was eighteen or nineteen years old. There they gained the patronage of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn the Seljūqī to whom the family was related. Indeed it is on record that when 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Kayqobād III died without issue, Jalālu'd-Dīn might have had the kingdom but he resigned his rights in favour of 'Uthmān the founder of the 'Uthmānlī dynasty. In Iconium Jalālu'd-Dīn's father worked as a professor. He died in the year A. D. 1230.

There seems to be some discrepancies in the accounts of the next few years. Apparently, Carra de Vaux says that, Jalālu'd-Dīn did not leave Quniya except for a short journey after his father's death. Sipa Sālār, a favourite disciple of Jalāu'd-Dīn, says he met Shamsu'd-Dīn Tabrizī at Quniya when he was thirty-eight years of age. In *Munāqibu'l-'Arifīn*, the work of Shamsu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Aflākī, it is said that he was in Damascus till he was forty years of age. The generally accepted view is that Jalālu'd-Dīn studied at the famous school of Aleppo and Damascus till A. D. 1240, or a little earlier. If this is correct then there is a possibility that Jalālu'd-Din was nearly contemporary with Ibn 'Arabī at Damascus and it is strange, therefore, that we find so little in the great poet which can be referred back to that great metaphysician. The explanation may be that up to this time he had no real interest in Ṣūfism.

With regard to his education, it seems that first he was taught by his father and that later when his father was dead his old tutor Burhānu'd-Dīn taught him the mystic path. Afterwards he studied in the schools of Syria. His real awakening is however due to his meeting with Shamsu'd-Dīn Tabrizī.

But what do we know about that meeting or about the personality of Shamsu'd-Dīn? The puerilities of the narratives which have come to us make it almost impossible to believe that the conjuring tricks (such as plunging books into water and bringing them out dry) which were alleged to have initiated the friendship between him and the poet really have been the influence at work in the master mind of Jalālu'd-Din. All that we dare say is that through the enthusiasm of Shamsu'd-Dīn the smouldering fires of Jalalu'd-Dīn's genius burst into flame and the doctor of law became the great poet. Shamsu'd-Dīn must have been a much greater man than the traditions of him would have us believe. The friendship was short but potent. Shamsu'd-Dīn disappeared after a riot raised about him and in that riot one of the poet's sons was killed. To commemorate the tragic end of his friend Jalālu'd-Dīn founded the Maulawī order, introducing those peculiar gyrations which have earned for the members of the order among Europeans the name of "Dancing Derwishes."

The most famous of the works of Jalālu'd-Din are the *Mat͟hnawī* and the *Dīwān* which is dedicated to Shams-i-Tabrīz. The former is found in many editions in India but alas! they contain many couplets which cannot be considered genuine. In one edition in India we have counted some four-hundred additional couplets in the first book alone, taking the great edition edited by Professor Nicholson as the standard text. Seeing that there are some four thousand couplets in this first book this is an extraordinary proportion. Professor Nicholson's edition of the text and translation is a great service to students of the poet and they look forward eagerly to his commentary. Professor Nicholson has also published an edition of the Dīwān but to this unfortunately we have not had access. The Dīwān has been published by the Newal Kishore Press of Lucknow under the name of the *Kulliyāt-i-Shams-Tabriz.* This consists of a thousand pages, foolscap size, with two couplets to a line. It is from this that the translations given later have been made. Some little time ago a prose work called *Fīhi mā fīhi* was found in a manuscript at Rampur. This has been published by the Ma'ārif Press at Azamgarh in the United Provinces.

We give some translations from the Dīwān to illustrate phases of Ṣūfi thought.

The Man of God.

> "Drunk is the Man of God, drunk without wine;
> Sated the Man of God, full without meat.
> Aghast is the Man of God in utter bewilderment
> Knows not the Man of God slumber nor sustenance,
> Sprung not from earth nor air, God's Man is not so born;
> Nor is his origin, water nor flame of fire.
> King is the Man of God, wrapped in a beggar's robe;
> Treasure the Man of God, hid in a ruin's heap.
> Soul of devotion he—such is the Man of God—
> Yet is the Man of God heedless of merit's gain.
> Thus is the Man of God Faith and yet Unbelief;
> What to the Man of God is sin then and righteousness?
> Taught by Creative Truth God's Man is learned;
> Not wise in legal lore culled from a book.
> In the Abyss's void, God's Man on Chaos rode,
> But here he suffered shame from his unbroken steed." 1

The man of God is here considered to be the God-intoxicated, lost in bewilderment in an unreal world. His origin is spiritual and his true worth is disguised by his life in the body. He is above the externalities of formal religion and derives true knowledge by mystic intuition. From his proud pre-existent state he suffered abasement from this body of humiliation which is frequently referred to as an untamed steed of the soul.

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1 *Kulliyat-i-Shams-i-Tabriz*, P. 116 (The passag is the translation made by Dr. J. W. Sweetman.)

The following is an illustration of Ṣūfī ecstasy:

"We have lost our heart in the way of the Beloved:
We have sown dissension in the world.
We have struck fire within the hearts of the people:
And have thrown lovers into confusion.
I have washed my hands of all my belongings:
We have set fire to house and home.
I had a heavy load on my back
But thanks be to God we have thrown aside that heavy load.
What is the wealth of the world but carrion?
We have cast the carcase to the dogs.
We have extracted the kernel of the Quran:
And the husk we have cast to the dogs.
We have scattered the seed of eternal felicity and joy.
From the earth to the sky.
The patched robe (of the derwish), the prayer carpet and the rosary,
We have cast away in the Tavern of Souls.
The pious cloak and turban and the babbling of knowledge about jot and tittle.
We have thrown it all into the flowing stream.
From the bow of desire, the arrow of Gnosis,
Taking straight aim, we have shot at the target.
Thou hast well said Shams-i-Tabriz,
We have cast love glances at the Lord of the Soul.[1]

Our next extract illustrates the idea of the pre-existence of the soul.

From the depth I came to the height:
I was seeking that lovely Beloved.
I had friendship with that One in the world of Souls.
And I return whither I came.
I was an unthreaded pearl and suddenly
I came into a breast of flint.

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[1] *Kulliyat-i-Shams-i-Tabriz*, P. 546. (The passage is translated by Dr. J. W. Sweetman.

The Sun of His mercy warmed me—
Back from that place I appeared in Time.
Once I had private converse with the Universal Reason
And again I wandered demented in the desert.
A hundred thousand years and centuries without number
Even before Adam and Eve I was.
Once I drew breath with the silent ones
From that silence I now have become a speaker [1]

3. SA'DI.

The third of the great poets of this period was Sa'dī of Shīrāz who was born in 1184 A. D. and died in 1291. He enjoys to-day a great reputation not only in Persia but in India where he is as well known as Shakespeare in England in spite of the fact that his tongue is Persian. His *Gulistān*, Rose Garden, and *Būstān*, Orchard, are most widely read and are generally the classics to which students of Persian are first introduced. His full name is commonly stated to be Muṣliḥu'd-Dīn, but from the oldest manuscript of his works (India Office No. 876, transcribed in A. D. 1328, only a few years after his death) it appears to have been Musharrafu'd-Dīn 'Abdu'llah.

Sa'dī was a great traveller—though some of the stories of his travels must be taken with a grain of salt. He is said to have visited the Panjab, Somnath and Gujarat. Apparently he travelled in the fashion of a mendicant, hobnobbing with all sorts and conditions of men till he became a true citizen of the world.

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[1] *Ibid.* P. 546. (translated by the Dr. J. W. Sweetman "Silent ones" are the dead or unborn.)

The earlier part of his life was spent in study but about his thirtieth year he took to travel and writing. Thus nearly thirty years passed and the latter part of his life was spent in seclusion and probably in the practice of the way of the mystic. That he was well acquainted with the mystic path is made clear by his receiving instruction from 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlanī and Shihābu'd-Dīn 'Umaru's-Suhrawardī, the author of *'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif.* But it is exceedingly doubtful whether he was a Ṣūfī by temperament. In him the didactic subordinates the mystic.

The *Būstān* is a book of verse on ethical subjects and the *Gulistān* has the same character but is in prose, interspersed with verse. His *Risā'il* are prose treatises on Ṣūfism. Among his many writings his *K͟hubt͟hiyāt* are a blot on his name, and his other works are not free from obscenities. His style is elegant. He is pleasant, easy-going, opposed to extremes. He frequently gives advice to his readers to be not righteous overmuch. His attitude to mystics is sometimes one of reproach for their hypocrisy. His ethics are based on expediency, for the most part. But he is not really troubled about consistency, valuing far more independence. Dr. Browne has well said that his writings are a microcosm of the East.

As early as the seventeenth century translations of his works began to appear in French, Latin, Dutch, and English. Later translations of the *Gulistān* into English are by Eastwick and Platts. We give below some few translations of passages from the *Būstān* which the Ṣū īs sometimes quote.

> "The way of reason is nothing but a maze;
> In the opinion of the gnostics there is nothing else but God.
> All that is, is less than He;
> For by His being, they bear the name of being.
> When the King of Glory raises His standard
> The whole world bows its head in the bosom of Not-being."
> "In self-hood there is no way to God
> But of this point only the unconscious is conscious." 1
> "Come Thou empty of claim that thou mayst be full."

(d) LATER ṢUFĪ POETS

The last phase of the development of Ṣūfism with which we are concerned in this chapter is that which is associated with the *Gulshan-i-Rāz* and the poets Ḥāfiẓ and Jāmī. These poets are particularly known and loved in India. Their works are used as text-books by every student of Ṣūfism throughout the country. Many there are in India who learn Persian for no other purpose than to be able to read the *Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ* and Jāmī's *Yūsuf-o-Zulaykhā* in the original.

1. GULSHAN-I-RĀZ.

It is necessary to say something about this book. It is a small *Mathnawī* of little more than a thousand couplets. It is the work of Maḥmūd Shabistarī or Shabtarī. We know very little about the life of the author. He lived apparently in the latter part of the thirteenth and the earlier part of the fourteenth century of the Christian era. But his work is important out of all

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1 The "unconscious is the dead to self."

comparison with the importance of the author because it is a compendium of Ṣūfi terminology in the form of question and answer.

It is a matter of frequent complaint by Eastern writers that Europeans do not understand and are unable to interpret the mysticism of such writers as Hāfiẓ and are apt to regard their poems as undiluted eroticism. There is no doubt that there is a very wide divergence of view as to what is proper and fitting in the emotional expression of religion and there would probably be much difference among Europeans themselves about the propriety, say, of some expressions used by Madame Guyon. Appreciation and understanding of mystical poetry is not given to all and there is a whole host of considerations, preconceptions and associations which go to render such poetry acceptable or unintelligible to the reader. It would not be a matter of surprise, for example, if an Eastern reader were not able to understand the mystical character and value of Francis Thompson's *Hound of Heaven*. Anything, therefore, which can help us to realize the atmosphere and understand the metaphors acceptable to the various groups of thought should be welcomed. In the *Gulshan-i-Rāz* we find help in this direction. Thus the lip of the Beloved trembles with compassion. His frown lays waste the world; His kiss revives it. Gazing on Him the soul is intoxicated. The mole on His cheek is the centre of Unity. Locks are wide-spread works of His hands, half hiding and half revealing

His beauty. Sometimes His locks are parted for a momentary glimpse of the beauty of His face. In His curls the longing soul is entangled as man is caught in the ephemeral beauty of the world. Wine is the symbol of the loss of consciousness of self in the rapture of union with Him. It is in this manner that the sensuous symbolism of Muslim mysticism is explained.

Gulshan-ı-Rāz [1] is divided into fifteen sections, each beginning with a question to which the answer is then given with illustrations and amplification. The following will serve as an example. The question, "What is Thought?" is propounded. Shabistari replies:

> "Thought is to pass from falsehood to Truth,
> To perceive the Absolute Whole in the part.
> In the works of the wise who have studied this theme
> You may find they aver it must thus be defined:
> "When first an idea is formed in the heart,
> The name which is apt is 'Recalling to mind' ".
> The next stage of thought, as they commonly deem,
> Is called a Transition (from known to unknown).
> O leave the long way of deductive proof!
> Like Moses forsake for a moment your rod,
> And enter the Valley of Peace that therein
> Unto thee Moses' bush may declare: I am God. [2]

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[1] Many editions and commentaries in India. The edition used is *Mashhad-i-Naz*, pubd. Kachaucha, Fyzabad. Winfields is the best English edition but we have not had access to it as it is out of print.

[2] God's Word considered to be hypostasised in the burning bush.

The Adept beatified, seeing the One,
His eye is first on the Light of Existence;
But he who by Light and Purity seeth,
Whatsoever he seeth, he first seeth God.
Detachment from all is pure thought's condition;
Comes then God's confirming as lightning flashes.
To whom God Himself has been Teacher and Guide,
From the use of mere logic has profited naught.
How the wise in Philosophy stands at a loss!
For nothing except the Contingent he sees.
Unconditional Being he'd fain prove from that
But Necessity's nature perplexes him still.
At one time he travels a circle of causes
(From the hen to the egg and the egg to the hen.)
Again he's involved in a chain without end.
(A series of causes in endless regression).
Poor fool, he goes seeking the Sun in its glory
By the light of a lamp in the limitless desert." 1

Maḥmūd Shabistarī loves to have a tilt at philosophy or rather the type of philosophy represented by the Muslim schoolmen, but at the same time he presents his replies in philosophical form and his terminology is often abstruse and difficult. This does not lend itself to a very exalted form of verse but, in general, his style is easy and smooth.

2. HĀFIẒ.

Khwāja Shamsu'd-Dīn Ḥāfiẓ (d. 1389 A. D.) spent most of his long life in Shīrāz. His ancestors belonged ot Isfahān but his father, Bahā'u'd-Dīn had taken up

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[1] Translated by Dr. J. W. Sweetman, *Mashhad-i-Naz*, p. 50 ff. Words in brackets are comment.

his abode in Shīrāz where he earned his living as a merchant or, as some say, a baker. Just before he died Bahā'u'd-Dīn failed in business and so his young son and his wife were left in penury. The boy managed to obtain some education and learned the Quran by heart. It was for this achievement that he received the title of *Ḥāfiẓ*. Later in his life when Shamsu'd-Dīn became a poet he adopted this title as his *nom-de-plume*.

His collection of poems, the *Dīwān-i-Ḥāfiẓ*, would appear on the surface to be "strongly tinged with sensuality". Something has been said with regard to this but it remains to say that there are many poems for which it is extremely difficult to find any mystic meaning. Shiblī in his *She'ru'l-'Ajam* gives no place to mysticism at all in Ḥāfiẓ. He says that the poet exhibits the philosophy of Epicurus. One cannot be unaware of a current of hedonism throughout, but at the same time, to deny the mysticism of Ḥāfiẓ would be absurd. It is true that it is not the mysticism of a school and, so far as we know, he never pledged himself to a *pīr*, or recognized Ṣūfī teacher, though there is one tradition associating him with the Naqshbandiyya.

His poetry is remarkable for its beauty and clarity. There is a freshness and sweetness in much of it which makes one regret the wilder accents of his songs. And throughout there is sincerity. He rings true. It is remarkable to notice his detachment when the passionate clamour of strife and bloodshed must have been constantly in his ears. The time might have made him a cynic but he never lost the sense of wonder.

The works of Ḥāfiẓ are sometimes called *Tarjumānu'l-Asrār*, the Interpreter of Mysteries, and *Lisānu'l-Gh͟ayb*, The Tongue of the Invisible. The latter title is said to be due to an incident which happened immediately after his death. Some orthodox Muslims, on account of his antinomian habits, objected to the offering of a funeral prayer. Finally it was agreed to decide the question by taking an augury from his poem. The verse they lighted on was.

> "Withdraw not your footsteps from the bier of Hafiz,
> For though immersed in sin, he will go to Paradise."

Since that time Muslims have sought omens in just the same way and various methods have been invented for this purpose. The one commonly practised is to open the book at random and to find the answer from the first line on the right hand page. Professor Browne in his famous *Literary History of Persia* gives a translation of a little book called *Latīfa i-Gh͟aybiyya* which contains instances of auguries taken by famous people.

We conclude this brief sketch with a few translations of odes with a mystical meaning.

> "O heedless one, strive thou to heed;
> Blind to the Path, how canst thou lead?
> A Sire wouldst be? Strive thou O Youth
> Before Love's Tutor in the School of Truth.
> Self's dross purge out, as saints of old,
> And by Love's Alchemy become fine gold.
> Eating and sleeping, still of Love bereft—
> Spurn sloth and feasting for the Love you left.

I vow the heavenly Sun is not so bright
As heart and soul indwelt by His Love-light.
Lost Thou in God, sans life and limb,
Art head to foot all Light of Him. [1]

3. JĀMĪ.

Mullā Nūru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Raḥman Jāmī was born at the town of Jām in K͟hurāsān on November the seventh, 1414 A. D. He was a great poet, a great scholar and a great mystic.

Jāmī was a prolific writer. His poetical works consisted of three *Dīwāns* of lyrical poetry and seven romantic *Mat͟hnawīs*. In prose he wrote on the exegesis of the Quran, the evidence of the prophethood of Muhammad and the lives of the saints. Besides these he was an author of several treatises on mysticism, theology, Arabic grammar, prosody, music and other matters.

The predominant passion of his life was mysticism and, in the words of Professor Browne, "The mystical and pantheistic thought of Persia may be said to find its most complete and vivid expression" in him. His Ṣūfī association was with the Naqshbandiyya. One of the central and fundamental conceptions in his mystical doctrine is that of the Absolute as the Eternal Beauty. Starting from the famous tradition, "I was a hidden treasure and I desired to become known; therefore I brought the creation into being in order that I might be known," his exposition was, that God is Eternal Beauty and that it lies in the nature of beauty to desire to manifest itself. Thus the purpose of creation is to manifest the Beauty of God. The passion for beauty is a means to link the soul to God. This thought is brought out in his comment on that favourite proverb of the Ṣūfīs, "The Phenomenal is the bridge to the Real", in a beautiful passage in *Yūsuf-o-Zulaykhā*, from which we make the following translation :

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[1] Translated by the Dr. J. W. Sweetman. Hafiz, *Diwan, Radif-i-Ya, ode No.* 5.

> "Be prisoner of Love; for so may'st thou be free.
> Bear in thy breast its grief, so thou may'st blithesome be.
> Thousands of learned men and wise have gone their way—
> Have passed from ken, for strangers to Love were they.
> But now no name or trace of them the world retains;
> In the hand of Time nor tale nor fame of them remains.
> How many birds there are of exquisite hue and mould!
> But never a lip moves *their* story to unfold.
> Lo! When the wise in heart, love-taught, take up the tale
> They tell the story of the moth and nightingale.
> Triest thou in thy life a hundred tasks in vain;
> Thou from thyself, by love alone canst freedom gain.
> Scorn not that lower love, the symbol of the Real,
> Since by its aid thou may'st achieve the ideal.
> Till from the Tablet, thou hast conned the Alphabet,
> How canst thou from Quran, study the lesson set ?
> A novice once before his Soul's Director stood,
> Who shewed to him the Path of Mystic Brotherhood.
> "If thou'st not lost the footing in Love's way", said he,
> "Go! Be a lover! Then return thou here to me.
> For shouldst thou still disdain to drink Form's cup of Wine,
> To drain the Ideal to the dregs can not be thine.

But yet beware, beware! In Form make no delay,
And let that Bridge be crossed as quickly as it may.
If to the stage's end thy chattels thou wouldst bring,
Rapt at the Bridge's head, why standst thou lingering?" [1]

In the *Lawā'iḥ* of Jāmī we have a theosophical treatise of which we have an edition in English by Winfield with translation and notes. There are English translations of the *Bahāristān*; by Rehatsek, of *Salamān-o-Absal* by Edward Fitzgerald and of *Yūsuf-o-Zulaykhā* by Griffiths. Most of Jāmī's works can be procured in the original in India and there is an edition of his collected lyrics published in Lucknow.[2]

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[1] *Yusuf-o-Zulaykha*, (Newal Kishore) p. 53 ff. This edition is accompanied by a commentary. The above is the translation of Dr. J. W. Sweetman.

[2] Newal Kishore Press, Lucknow.

CHAPTER III

The Súfí Gnostic System

1. SUFI SPECULATIVE CONCERNING GOD

In Muslim thought those who have speculated concerning the Divine Being are generally divided into three schools, viz. the *Ijādiyya*, which is definitely theistic and subscribes to the belief that God created the world out of nothing and that His essence is distinct from His creation; *Shuhūdiyya*, a moderate pantheism, considers that the universe and all that it contains is so far transcended by the majesty of God's reality that all else counts for nothing. This school conceives the universe as a mirror in which the Divine attributes are reflected. The third school is the *Wujūdiyya*, which is monistic. It holds that there is only one essence and that is God's. Thus to this school everything is God and of the Essence of God, and its creed is *Hama ost*, "all is He". The *Shuhūdiyya* and the *Wujūdiyya* form the two great divisions of the Ṣūfī in respect to the doctrine of God. There are certain fundamental conceptions which underlie all the Ṣūfī speculations with regard to the Godhead and we must give a brief outline of these for the better understanding of the system.

(*a*) *Tanazzulāt.* The Descent of the Absolute.

Tanazzul (pl. *tanazzulāt*) "the descent", is, in the language of the Ṣūfīs equivalent to "individualisation".

and indicates the process by which the Absolute, from the state of bare existence, gradually became "qualified". As Neo-Platonism started with a Triad in its emanational system consisting of the One, the Divine Mind and the All-Soul, so too we find a triad here whereby we trace from step to step the "descent" of the Absolute from what is in the initial stage almost purely negative or supra-existential, through a stage where the divine consciousness moves to the realisation of Its Thought, to the third stage of Oneness in Multiplicity. In the first and highest plane the Absolute Being (*al-Wujudu'l-Muṭlaq*) is conceived as simple Essence, (*adh-dhāt*) devoid of all attributes and relations. This is defined by some Ṣūfīs on lines which may be fairly represented by the words of Jīlī in his *Insān-i-Kāmil.* "The Essence means Absolute being, dropping all modes, adjuncts, relations and aspects. Not that they are external to the Absolute Being but that all these modes and what is ascribed to them are totally of and in Absolute Being, not of themselves nor by virtue of their own modes, but essentially one with the Absolute. And this Absolute Being is the Pure Essence in which there is no manifestation, no name, no quality, no relation, no adjunct or anything else. So when anything else is manifested in it that manifestation is ascribed not to the Pure Essence but to that which is manifested. Then the Essence in the requirement of its own nature comprises Universals Particulars, Relations and Adjuncts by the requirement of their continuance: Nay, by the requirement of their disappearance beneath the domination of the Oneness of the Essence."[1] With this should be compared Plotinus, "Since the Nature or Hypostasis of the One is the engenderer of the All, it can be none of the things in the All; that is, It is not a thing; It has neither quality nor quantity......It is essentially of a unique form or rather no-form, since It is prior to form as It is also prior to movement and rest; all these categories apply only to the realm of existence and constitute the multiplicity characteristic of that lower realm."[2]

The inward aspect of this plane is called *al-'Amā*, "the dark mist," and it is explained as a state of bare potentiality. The outward aspect is called *Aḥdiyyat*, the abstract notion of Oneness, in which the Essence knows itself as transcendent Unity.[3]

The Ṣūfīs quote two traditions in support of this view. One is the *Ḥadi͟th-i-Qudsī* (a special type of tradition which is supposed to contain a Divine revelation to Muhammad) which runs as follows, "I (i. e. Allah) was a hidden treasure: I desired to become known and I brought Creation into being that I might be known." The other is as follows: "The Prophet was asked by Abī Dara, 'Where was God before Creation?' Muhammad replied, 'He was in the state of *al-'Amā*, a dark cloud or mist, above which there was no air, and below which there was no air."

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[1] Jili. *Insan-i-Kamil* (Cairo printed) Vol. 1. 43. Trans. by [J. W. Sweetman.

[2] Plotinus : Ennead, Book VI. 9. 3.

[3] Cf. Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, pp. 94-95 and Khwaja Khan : *Studies in Tasawwuf*, p. 41.

We next come to another plane of this triad in the scheme of devolution. This is *Waḥdat* and is also known as *Ḥaqīqatu'l-Muḥammadiyya*, 'the Reality of Muhammad.' The world is a manifestation of that Reality. It is said that the realities or ideal prototypes of the souls and bodies of the world are details of the reality of Muhammad's soul and body. [1]

Here too we have an inward and outward aspect. The inward is called *Huwīyyat*, He-ness, and the outward *Anīyyat*, I-ness. *Huwīyyat* represents the Thought of the Divine Mind turned in to the One and *Anīyyat* the Thought going out, as it were, to the realisations or expression of itself in manifestation. The relations of these two terms to each other are to some extent shown by their derivation. *Hūwīyyat* is the abstract noun formed from the third person singular pronoun "*huwa*". It is the *Wāḥid*, (singular) *g͟hā'ib*, (hidden). It is that which is specified or contemplated. But this he-ness does not depend on a specifier outside the Divine Unity. Thus the divine thought turned inward in self-contemplation is the basis of the conception. *Anīyyat* is from the first person singular. Here the Divine Unity points to Itself, as it were, *vis a vis* the world, or rather universe, of individuation. *Anīyyat* corresponds to the *Ana'l-Ḥaqq* of Ḥallāj and is appropriate to the sphere of manifestation, while *Huwīyyat* corresponds more to the *Hū of* the *d͟hikr*, where the aim is to put off the fetters of individuation and to be lost in the Hidden Oneness.[1] But the use of these two terms must not be taken as implying any duality. "Everyone who does not harbour doubt is aware that there is only one single existence". "But there is no duality for Creative Truth ; In that there is no 'I' and 'We' and 'Thouness'. 'I' and 'We', 'Thou' and 'He' are all one thing ; For there is no distinction at all in Oneness".[2]

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[1] cf. Ibrahim Shattari : *Haqa'iq Numa*. p. 191.

The third plane is called *Wāḥidīyyat*, Unity in Plurality, or Singleness. It is in the use of this term that we see the intention to preserve the Unity when the plane of multiplicity has been reached. This also is parallel with the Neo-Platonist system. "The All-Soul includes and is All-the-Souls."[3] But in this there is no sacrifice of the Unity. "All degrees and hierarchies are but details of the Unity," says Jāmī when treating of this subject in his *Lawā'iḥ*. By the use of this term then, the many are represented as identical in essence with the One.

In the stage of *Wāḥidīyyat*, when the Essence came to possess the essential attributes, viz. Life, Knowledge, Power, Purpose, Hearing, Seeing and Speech, it was called *Lāhūt*, Divinity : when it became qualified with active attributes such as, to create, to make alive, to kill, etc, it was called *Jabarūt*, Power. The

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[1] An interesting parallel to this is the use of person in a grammatical sense with reference to the Trinity by Tertullian. See *Adv. Praxean* Chaps. xi & xii.

[2] *Gulshan-i-Raz*, couplets 445 ff.

[3] Mackenna : *Pootinus* Vo. 1. p. 120

Jabarūt attributes were named according to their different manifestations. When they were manifested in the world of spirit and angels, they were called *'Alam-i-Malakūt* the angelic world, when they were manifested in "similitudes" they were called *'Alam-i-Mit̲h̲āl*, the world of Similitudes, and when manifested in the material world, they were called *'Alam-i-Nāsūt*, the world of Humanity.

It is thus that "the Single Essence as to Its being absolutely void of individualisations and limitations is Creative Truth (*Ḥaqq*) and in respect to multiplicity and plurality by which It displays Its veiling in individualisations It is the created universe (*k̲h̲alq*).[1] The appearing of the Creator in the form of the creature has a reference to the tradition recorded from Mu'ād̲h̲ b. Jabal and in various forms from others that Muhammad saw his Lord in a beautiful form, or as a handsome youth.[2] The assertion that the creature is in the form of the Creator is the converse and is considered the complementary aspect of the former conception. This is referred to that other tradition ultimately derived from the story of Creation in the book of Genesis, "God created Adam in His own image.

(*b*) The *Ḥaqīqatu'l-Muḥammadiyy*a

Reference has already been made to the *Ḥaqīqatu'l-Muḥammadiyya*, but as it occupies an important place in the doctrine of the Ṣūfīs, we proceed to give an outline of their teaching concerning it. Another name for it is *Nūru'l-Muḥammadiyya*, the Light of Muhammad. The growth of the doctrine has a long history. Ibn Sīnā (b. 980 A. D.) in *Kitābu'l-Ishārāt* identifies the Aristotelian '*Aql*, Primal Reason, with the Light of Allah referred to in mysterious terms in the Quran (*Sura*, 24 : 35). It is not exclusively a Ṣūfī conception.[1] The saying, quite evidently borrowed from *St. John* 14 : 19. is ascribed to Muhammad, "He that hath seen me hath seen Allah." Thus Muhammad is regarded by the Ṣūfīs as the final and complete revelation of God but not only so, he is believed to have existed before the creation of the world. From this it will be apparent that the place of the *Ḥaqīqatu'l-Muḥammadiyya* in the Ṣūfī cosmogony is the same as that of the *Logos* in Christianity. The pre-existence of Muhammad is described in words which strongly remind us of the statements in the Gospel concerning the *Logos*, viz. "All things were made by Him ; and without Him was not anything made that has been made". (*St. John* 1 : 3). Tradition puts in the mouth of Muhammad saying such as the following : "The first thing which God created was the Light of the Prophet." "I was a prophet while Adam was between water and clay." "I am the Light of God and all things are from my Light." Further, the verse of the Quran which says, "Muhammad is not the father of any of you, but he is a messenger of God and

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[1] Jami : *Lawa'ih* (Newal Kishore Press) p. 19

[2] *Mishkatu'l-Masabih* (Majidi Press, Cawnpur) p. 72. cf also Ritter in *Der Islam* 1928 p. 257.

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[1] For Shi'a conception see *Hayatu'l-Qulub* (Newal Kishore Press) Vol. 2 p. 3 etc.

Seal of the Prophets", is interpreted by Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā to mean that he was not of our world.

Jīlī (b. 1365 A. D.), the author of the famous treatise on Ṣūfism, *Insānu'l-Kāmil*, describes the *Ḥaqīqat-u'l-Muḥammadiyya* in the following words: "One of his names is Word of God (Amru'llāh) and he is the most sublime and exalted of all existences. In regard to dignity and rank he is supreme. There is no angel greater than he. He is the chief of all the archangels and is superior to angels in all devices. God made the millstone of all existences to turn on him and made him the axis of the revolving sphere of all creation. He has a special form with every creature which is attached to it and which preserves it in the degree in which God created it. He has eight forms which support the Most High Throne. He formed the angels, all of them, the lofty and the elemental. The relation of angels to him is as the relation of drops of water to the sea."[1]

Jīlī also describes how this Light of Muhammad has appeared in various forms in different ages. He says: "He has different garbs and is manifested in various habitations. A name is given to him in respect to each.........His original name is Muhammad, his patronymic is Abu'l-Qāsim, his description is 'Abdu'llāh and his title Shamsu'd-Dīn. Then in respect to later forms he is given names and in every age has a name which is appropriate to the guise in which he appears in that age. I was associated with him (Muhammad) in the form of my *Shaykh*, Shaykh Sharfu'd-Dīn Ismā'īl Jabartī, and I did not know that the Shaykh was the Prophet but I knew that he was the *Shaykh* (guide in the Ṣūfī path) and this is one of the visions I had of him in Zabīd in the year 796 A. H. (1394 A. D.) and the secret of this matter is that it is possible for him to assume every form. When the one experienced in spiritual knowledge has seen him in the form of Muhammad, the form which was upon the *Haqīqat-u'l-Muḥammadiyya* in his (Muhammad's) life-time, then he is called by his name Muhammad and when he has seen him is some other form and has known that he was Muhammad, he does not call him by any name except the name of that form. Then this name (Muhammad) will not be applied except to the *Ḥaqīqatu'l-Muḥammadiyya*. Sawest thou not that when the prpohet was manifest in the form of Shiblī, Shiblī said to his disciple "Testify that I am the Apostle of God" and the disciple had insight and recognised him and said, "I testify that thou art the Apostle of God."[1]

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[1] *Insanu'l-Kamil,* (ed. cited) Vol. II. *et infra.* P. 9. Cap. 51 Trans. by Dr. J. W. Sweetman.

The story of how the world was created by the Light of Muhammad is still widely used for the purpose of devotional reading. It may be described in the words of Jīlī. God, created the forms of Muhammad from the light of His name *al-Badī 'u 'l-Qādir* (*i. e.* the Almighty Maker) and contemplated them with His name *al-Mannānu'l-Qāhir*, (the Overwhelming

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[1] *Insanu'l-Kamii* (ed. cited) Vol. II. p. 46 Cap. 60.

Giver). Then He shone upon them with His name *al-Laṭīfu'l-Ghāfir* (the Forgiving Indulgent One). On this, because of this irradiation it broke into two parts, so that it was divided into two halves. From that half on His right God made paradise and established it as an abode of bliss and from that half on His left He made the Fire, setting it up as a place of misery for the erring."[1]

2. THE *LATA'IF*, THE ORGANS OF SPIRITUAL APPREHENSION.

According to Ṣūfī teaching the entire creation belongs either to the *'Alam-i-Amr*, the World of Command, or to the *'Alam-i-khalq*, the World of Creation. By the former is meant that world of existence which has been brought into existence by God directly by His word of command "Be !", while the latter is for that which is fashioned from something already existing. The former is immaterial and corresponds in some sort to the *pleroma*, but the latter is material. Taken together these two worlds form the *'Alam-i-Kabīr*, the Macrocosm. Man in contrast is called *'Alam-i-Ṣaghīr* the Microcosm and he possesses within himself five elements of *'Alam-i-Amr* and five elements of *'Alam-i-Khalq*. Those belonging to the former are: *Qalb*, heart, *Ruḥ*, spirit, *Sirr*, the secret, *Khafī*, the hidden or mysterious, *Akhfā*, the deeply hidden. Nicholson sometimes translates *Sirr* by the word conscionsness. One wonders whether the last three might not be represented by intuition, deep intuition and deepest intuition. However, they are not simple psychological terms but partly names in a gnostic mythology. The elements belonging to the *'Alam-i-Khalq* are: *Nafs*, ego or soul, and the four elements earth, water, fire and air. In the language of the Ṣūfīs each of these elements is called a *Laṭīfa* (pl. *Laṭāi'if*) which is a word difficult to translate. It might mean subtle substance. It is not exactly faculty, for the same reason offered above with regard to *Sirr*. The *laṭāi'if* connected with *'Alam*-i-*khalq* constitute the physical side of human life, and the other five which are connected with the *'Alam-l-Amr* are the organs of spiritual communication with God. These belong in their true nature to the spiritual world, in which their relative position is described in the following way: The place of the *Qalb* is said to be on the Throne of God and above it in ascending order are *Rūḥ*, *Sirr*, *Khafī* and *Akhfā*. But somehow, they are also connected with the inner life of man and as such, are located in his body. Their exact location, including *Nafs*, which of course belongs to the physical side of man, is: the *Nafs* under the navel, *Qalb* on the left side, *Rūḥ* on the right side of the chest, *Sirr* exactly between *Qalb* and *Rūḥ*. *Khafī* is said by some to be in the forehead and *Akhfā* in the brain, while others locate *Akhfā* in the middle of the chest, *Sirr* between *Qalb* and *Akhfā*, and *Khafi* between *Rūḥ* and *Akhfā*.[1]

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[1] op. cit. Vol. II. p. 29.

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[1] Shah Muhammad Ghawth, *Asraru't-Tariqat*, Urdu Tr. (Pubd. Manzil-i-Naqshbandiyya, Lahore) P. 16.

It is further said that each *laṭīfa* in a mysterious way, is related to a certain prophet. This relation, in the language of the Ṣūfīs, is expressed in the following words: the degree of saintship attained through each *laṭīfa* is "under the foot of a prophet." *Qalb* is under the foot of Adam; *Rūḥ*, *Sirr*, *Khafi*, and *Akhfa* are under the feet of Abraham, Moses Jesus and Muhammad respectively.

The aim of every Ṣūfī is to awaken these five *Laṭā'if* into active remembrance of God, and through them to receive *Tajallī*, the Divine Illumination. These objects he seeks to accomplish by the constant practice of *dhikr* or remembrance. Normally the goal is attained gradually and, whichever of these *laṭā'if* becomes active and divinely illuminated, the Ṣūfī concerned is said to have attained to the degree of the saintship of that particular *laṭīfa* and of the Prophet associated with it.

QALB, THE HEART.

Jīlī says that the heart is the eternal light and sublime mystery sent down into the essence of created beings so that God may look on man by it.[1] Muhammad is said to have received the revelation "My earth and My heaven contain Me not, but the heart of My faithful servant containeth me." Rūmī in the *Mathnawī* says, "The Prophet said that God said: I am not contained in High or Low, nor in Earth nor in Heaven, nor even in the Heaven of the Throne; know this for certain, I am treasured in the believer's heart. How wonderful ! If thou seekest for me, search in such hearts,"[1] and again he says, "That heart which is the rising place of moonbeams (*i. e.* pale reflections of the great Sun of Truth) is for the mystic the opening of the gates (or chapters) of revelation." [2] Take also these words of Hāfiẕ "Long years the heart was searching for Jām's cup. What it had itself it desired of the stranger. The pearl which is not in the shell of the phenomenal world, it sought from benighted people on the sea-shore." Here is a picture of mankind lost on the shore of the boundless sea of divine knowledge. Unaware as he is of his *own* identity, how can he possibly apprehend transcendent reality? Even though he should spend long years, making diligent enquiry of the sages (here symbolised by the *Jām-i-Jam*, a fabulous goblet or mirror supposed to have the property of mirroring the whole world) he cannot achieve the knowledge of God.[3] Adam, says the Ṣūfī, left Paradise to live in the world and it was as though he had left that boundless ocean to dwell on the barren shore. There he lost the knowledge of his real self which was bound up with his mystic apprehension of God. Nevertheless, in the heart of man, which is vehicle of the Supreme Glory and the place of the manifestation of Divine Light, there lingers still some traces of the effulgence of divine knowledge and therefrom some faint moon-beam gleams of mystic apprehension of the Lord Most High. Ḥāfiz says the heart longs to be comforted and blessed with the love of the Beloved but as it turns hither and thither with its questioning in the urgency of its longing, it vainly disquiets itself and us, for it has itself all the secret which is left to us. The treasury of Reality and Mystic Apprehension is in the heart ; we seek in vain from others. We may turn to them very wistfully but "not by these, by these was heald my aching smart." Why seek the precious pearl from those who are themselves lost ? The rays of the eternal beauty are not without but within. Thus is the Ṣūfī's thought about the heart expressed. He sees in to it the Throne of God and the centre of intuition of the Divine.

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[1] *Insanu'l-Kamil* Vol. ii. p. 14.

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[1] Jalalu'd-Din, *Mathnawi*, Bk. I. lines 2635—5.

[2] *Ibid* Bk. II, lines 163.

[3] *Diwan-i-Hafiz, Radifdal*, Ode 85.,

By the position of the *Qalb* between the '*Alam-i-Amr* and the '*Alam-i-Khalq*, it is an "intermedium" (*barzakh*) between them, and a meeting place of physical and spiritual forces. In the words of a Ṣūfī writer, "It is compounded of the subtle *rūḥ* and the coarse body ; and has thus established connection between the two. It receives impressions from the external world through the five external senses (viz. Thought, Instinct, Memory, Reasoning and Fancy).[1] "Thus it comes about that the heart is the centre of a warfare. Al-Ghazālī says, "There are two servants of the heart which, when they serve it perfectly, are helpful. These are wrath and appetite (or desire). Indeed the heart considers these two excellent companions for its journey to God. But sometimes these are disobedient to the heart and rebel against it so that it comes to this, that they enslave the heart and are the workers of its destruction and thus it is kept back from that journey by which eternal bliss is obtained."[1]

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[1] Khwaja Khan, *Studies in Tasawwuf*. p. 195.

So through a mist of scholastic subtleties, the Ṣūfī gropes his way to find that which will assuage the deep hunger of his heart and so joins hands with his Christian brother who says, "I was seeking Thee without and lo, Thou wast within." "Our whole work in this life is to heal the eye of the heart by which we see God."[2]

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[1] *Ihya-ul-'Ulum*. Vol. III. p. 5.

[2] St. Augustine.

CHAPTER IV

The Path

In the preceding chapter we have described the general principles which underlie Ṣūfism, and now turn to a consideration of the characterisitic teachings at the back of Ṣūfī practices, and of those experiences through which Ṣūfīs pass in their attempts to attain the goal of Union with God. Ṣūfism is a description of the adventures of a soul. It speaks of the seeker after God as a *Sālik*, or a "traveller", and of the progress in the spiritual life as a "*Sulūk*", a "travel" or "journey," along which he is guided by a *Murshid* or *Pīr*, a "guide" or an "elder", who has already attained the goal by completing the journey, and is thus qualified to lead a seeker, now his *Murīd*, an "aspirant", to the attainment of *Maʿrifat*, "the knowledge" of God. The traveller is guided along the course of *aṭ-Ṭarīqat*, the "path", the practices which are prescribed by the Murshid, the guide, according to the progress made by the devotee. He, passing through the *Maqāmāt*, the "stages", experiences certain *Aḥwāl* (Sing. *ḥāl*), the "states", and finally if he perseveres to the end, he attains by *Faḍl*, the grace of God, the desired goal of union with God, called *fanā fiʾ l-ḥaqīqat*, "annihilation in reality".

The very great gulf that separates man from God is commonly described by Ṣūfī writers in symbolical language. Such is the style of the following tradition quoted by al-G͟hazālī: "Allah hath seventy thousand Veils of Light and Darkness: were He to withdraw their curtain, then would the splendours of His Aspect (countenance) surely consume everyone who apprehended Him with his sight."[1] These veils are thus explained: The inner half of these are said to be of light, and the outer half of darkness. The soul in its journey to union with Deity, passes through seven stages and at every stage is stripped of ten thousand of these veils, the dark ones first and then the bright. At the final stage the soul stripped of all sensual and material qualities stands face to face with the Absolute Being.

THE STAGES OF THE PATH

The "stages" of the journey or Path, have been variously described by the Ṣūfīs. Such variation is perhaps to be explained by the fact that Ṣūfīs claim that there are a myriad ways leading to God. Indeed one of them is said to have declared, "The ways to God are as many as the believers."

According to some authorities the Path consists of the following seven 'stages':

(1) '*Ubūdiyyat*, the stage of 'manhood'......in which the aspirant endeavours to purify his soul, and prepares himself for the higher stages of the journey. At this stage the first thing required of him is repentance, which is described as "the awakening of the soul from the slumber of indifference to awareness of his evil

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[1] Cf. W. H. T. Gairdener, *Mishkatu'l-Anwar*, pp. 88f.

ways, and a sense of contrition for past sins." The aspirant is also exhorted to serve God and follow the ordinances of the Law faithfully.

(2) *'Ishq*, that of 'love'……in which the Divine influence inclines the soul towards the love of God. 'Aliu'l-Hujwiri says: "Man's love towards God is a quality which manifests itself in the heart of the pious believer, in the form of veneration and magnification, so that he seeks to satisfy his Beloved and becomes impatient and restless in his desire for vision of Him, and cannot rest with anyone except Him, and grows familiar with the remembrance (*dhikr*) of Him, and abjures the remembrance of everything besides. Repose becomes unlawful to him and rest flees from him. He is cut off from all habits and associations, and renounces sensual passion and turns towards the court of love and submits to the law of love and knows God by His attributes of perfection."[1]

At this stage the aspirant, urged by his intense longing for God, is led to observe poverty. In his heart there is no room for any earthly desire but that of God. Thus, his poverty is not merely the lack of wealth, but also the absence of any desire for it. A Ṣūfī writes: "the poor are the richest of God's creation……they dispense with the gift for the sake of the Giver."[2]

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*, (Professor Nicholson's translation) pp. 307,8.

[2] Al-Sarraj, *Kitab-al-Luma'*, p. 48, quoted, in Margaret Smith, *Rabi'a*, p. 74.

(3) *Zuhd*, "renunciation"………under the influence of the Divine Love all worldly desires are expelled from the heart. "The first stage of *zuhd*, to the Ṣūfī, is initiatory and represents the Purgative Life, through which the novice must pass before setting foot on the mystic Way. But when the soul has been purified from all sensual desires, and the mystic 'pure from self as flame from smoke' sets forth upon his journey towards God, then he passes beyond this early degree of *zuhd* and aims at the last stage, renunciation of all but God, attained only by the adept." [1]

(4) *Ma'rifat*, "knowledge" or "gnosis"………in which the aspirant contemplates the nature, attributes and work of God, 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī says: "Gnosis of God is of two kinds: cognitional (*'ilmī*) and emotional (*ḥālī*): Cognitional gnosis is the foundation of all blessings in this world and in the next, for the most important thing for a man at all times and in all circumstances is knowledge of God, as God hath said: 'I only created the genii and mankind that they might serve Me' (*Sura*, 51:56), *i.e.* that they might know Me. But the greater part of men neglect this duty, except those whom God hath chosen and whose hearts He hath vivified with Himself. Gnosis is the life of the heart through God and the turning away of one's inmost thoughts from all that is not God," [2]

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[1] Margaret Smith, *Rabi'a*, p. 76.

[2] *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, p. 267.

(5) *Wajd*, "ecstasy"................in which mental excitement is produced through contemplation of the only existing Reality, God. At this stage the aspirant spends his time in contemplation, and practices much *dhikr* as a means of inducing in him the state of ecstasy. Professor Nicholson says : "The whole of Ṣūfism rests on the belief that when the individual self is lost, the Universal Self is found, or, in religious language, that ecstasy affords the only means by which the soul can directly communicate and become united with God."[1]

(6) *Ḥaqīqat*, "reality".........the heart is now illumined with the true nature of God. The aspirant, as he learns the true nature of God, learns to exercise *tawakkul*, dependence upon God. According to Al-Ghazālī *tawḥīd* and *tawakkul* are inseparably related. To put one's trust in secondary causes is to associate these with God as the object of devotion and this is *shirk*. He uses the Quran to establish this view and quotes *Sura* 29 : 65 to show that men call on God to give them a safe passage when they take ship, but when they arrive they attribute their safe arrival to a fair wind. True trust is rather in Him who rules the winds. "When He saves them to the shore, behold, they associate others with Him." This is contrary to *tawḥīd* and therefore not true *tawakkul*. Al-Ghazālī says : "Know that *tawakkul* is a sort of faith (*imān*) and faith is made up of knowledge (*'ilm*), state (*ḥāl*) and

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[1] Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 59.

practice (*'amal*) ; so too is *tawakkul*."[1] Thus to Al-Ghazālī *tawakkul* is practically identical with the Sūfī conception of *tawḥīd*.

(7) *Waṣl*, "union"………in which the mystic, as it were, sees God face to face. This "stage" precedes the final experience of *fanā wa baqā*. 'annihilation and subsistence', the Ṣūfī's *ultima Thule*. *Waṣl* is also the stage of satisfaction, which is defined as "the acquiescence of the heart in God's decision and the agreement of the heart with what He wills and chooses", and again "satisfaction is the acceptance of God's decisions with joy."[2] Satisfaction has two sides, *viz*., human satisfaction with God and Divine satisfaction with man. Abū Sa'īd, a famous Sūfī writer, is reported to have said : "That man is a Ṣūfī who is satisfied with whatsoever God does or God will be satisfied with whatsoever he does."[3]

THE 'STATES' OF THE MYSTIC.

The 'stages' just described must be distinguished from those experiences of the traveller which the Ṣūfīs call 'states'. They define a 'state' as a condition of feeling or disposition, which comes upon the mystic without his intention or desire ; such as sorrow, fear or joy. 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī makes clear the distinction between these as follows: " 'Station' (*maqām*)[1] denotes anyone's 'standing' in the Way of God, and his fulfilment of the obligations appertaining to that 'station' and his keeping it until he comprehends its perfection so far as lies in a man's power. It is not permissible that he should quit his 'station' without fulfilling the obligations thereof. Thus, the first 'station' is repentance (*tawbat*), then comes conversion (*inābat*), then renunciation (*zuhd*), then trust in God (*tawakkul*) and so on: it is not permissible that anyone should pretend to conversion without repentance, or to renunciation without conversion, or to trust in God without renunciation.

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[1] *Ihya'u 'l 'Ulum*, Vol. IV., pp. 211-15, (Cairo, ed. 1346 A. H.)

[2] Al-Qushayri, *Risala*, p. 117, quoted in, Margaret Smith, *Rabi'a*, *p*. 89.

[3] *Asrar al-Tawhid*, p. 381, quoted, in Margaret Smith, *op, cit*. p. 88. note.

" 'State' (*ḥāl*), on the other hand, is something that descends from God into a man's heart without his being able to repel it when it comes, or to attract it when it goes, by his own effort. Accordingly, while the term 'station' denotes the way of the seeker, and his progres in the field of exertion, and his rank before God in proportion to his merit, the term 'state' denotes the favour and grace which God bestows upon the heart of His servant, and which are not connected with any mortification on the latter's part. 'Station' belongs to the category of acts, 'state' to the category of gifts. Hence the man that has a 'station' stands by his own self-mortification, whereas the man that has a state' is dead to 'self' and stands by a 'state' which God creates in him.[1]

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[1] The word 'station' is used by Professor Nicholson for *maqam* while we have translated it throughout by the word 'stage'.

SIGNIFICANCE OF A SUFI'S JOURNEY.

In the previous chapter we have described how the Absolute, in manifesting Itself, has passed though several stages of 'devolution'. The progress of Ṣūfī] from the lowest to the highest stage of the Path, consists in traversing the stages of this Divine 'devolution' in obverse order. Professor Nicholson while expounding Jīlī's idea of the Perfect Man, speaks of this ascent of the Ṣūfī as follows : "Man is the microcosm in which all attributes are united, and in him alone does the Absolute become conscious of itself in all its diverse aspects. To put it in another way, the Absolute, having completely realised itself in human nature, returns into Itself through the medium of human nature ; or, more intimately, God and man become one in the Perfect Man—the enraptured prophet or saint—whose religious function as a mediator between man and God corresponds with his metaphysical function as the unifying principle by means of which the opposed terms of reality and appearance are harmonised. Hence the upward movement of the Absolute from the sphere of manifestation back to the unmanifested Essence takes place in and through the unitive experience of the soul."[2]

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 181.

[2] *Studies in Islamic Mysticism* pp. 84, 185

Thus the soul's progress in the journey along the Path is really the upwward movement of the Absolute from the sphere of manifestation back to the unmanifestated state.

The downward path, consisting of the 'stages' of 'devolution' traversed by the Absolute, is designated by the Ṣūfīs as *safaru'l-Ḥaqq* 'the journey of Reality' and the corresponding upward path followed by the mystics is designated as *safaru'l-'abd*, 'the journey of the creature.'

The gradual ascent of the soul is further described by Ṣūfīs to be related to 'four main states', through which the traveller must pass.

1. *Nāsūt*, humanity, the natural state of every human being, in which the disciple must observe *sharī'at*.

2. *Malakūt*, nature of angels, in which he takes the Path of spiritual journey, *aṭ-ṭarīqat.* [1]

3. *Jabarūt*, possession of power, for which there is *Ma'rifat.*

4. *Lāhūt*, Divinity the state of annihilation into the Deity, in which he attains Reality, *Ḥaqīqat.*[2]

THE THREE GREAT JOURNEYS OF THE SUFIS.

There are certain Sūfīs who speak of the Path consisting of three journeys:

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[1] Shah Muhammad Ghawth. *Asraru't-Tariqat*, Urdu Tr. (Naqshbandiyya Manzil, Lahore). pp. 27-28.

[2] Cp. pp. 55, 56.

(1) *Sayr ila'llāh*, 'Journey to God', the aspirant travels from the 'World of Creation' to the 'World of Command'. In this he traverses the 'stages' of *Wāḥidīyyat* and *Waḥdat*, i. e. the last two stages of the Divine 'devolution'.[2] This journey ends at *Ḥaqīqat-i-Muḥammadī*.

(2) *Sayr fi'llāh*. 'Journey in God', in this the aspirant is absorbed into the Essence of God. It is the 'stage' of *Aḥdiyyat*. It was at this 'stage' that Ḥallāj cried out, *Ana'l-Ḥaqq* 'I am the Reality', and said ;

> I am He whom I love, and He whom I love is I :
> We are two spirits in one body.
> If thou seest me, thou seest Him.
> And if thou seest Him, thou seest us both.

(3) *Sayr 'ani 'llāh*, 'Journey from God'. This is the journey back to the world of manifestation invested *with* the attributes of God. It is the 'stage' of *baqā* 'subsistence after *fanā* 'annihilation'. The author of *Gulshan-i-Rāz*, thus describes it:

"He obtains *baqā*, subsistence, after *fanā* annihilation. He returns to the Source from the end of his jouney by another way. He puts on the Laws as a garment and then wraps about it the robe of the Mystic Path. But know that Truth itself is the Station of his nature, the connecting link between unbelief (*kufr*) and Belief (*Imān*)."[1]

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[1] *Gulshan-i-Raz*, lines 249-251.

NAFS, OR THE SOUL.

The Ṣūfīs distinguish between *Rūḥ*, the spirit, and *Nafs*, the self or the appetitive soul. *Nafs* is considered to be the element of evil in man, the seat of passion and lust, and mortification of this *nafs* is the chief work of the aspirant. There are among Ṣūfīs many outward methods of mortification, such as fasting, silence and solitude. The aim in all such practices may be said to be "dying to self". By this the Ṣūfīs do not mean to assert that the lower self can be essentially destroyed, but that it is to be purged of all its evil qualities. The word death is, in fact, employed in a figurative sense to indicate the various methods of self-mortification. The methods so described are three in number :

1. *Al-Mawtu'l Abyaḍ*, 'the white death' ; this is held to mean abstinence from food, or such control of the feeling of hunger as gradually purifies the *Nafs* from appetitive cravings. A person who frequently abstains from food is said to have entered the state of the 'white death'.

2. *Al-Mawtu'l-Akhḍar*, 'the green death' ; this is the wearing of old clothes in a state of voluntary poverty. When a person gives up wearing purple and fine linen, and has chosen the garment of poverty, he is said to have entered this state of death.

3. *Al-Mawtu'l-Aswad*, 'the black death' ; this is applied to the voluntary taking of troubles, and submitting to be evil spoken of for the truth's sake. When

an aspirant has learnt to submit to such troubles and persecutions, he is said to have entered into this state of death.

The *Nafs*, in such a process of mortification and purgation of all its evil qualities, is variously described according to the degree of purity it has attained :

1. *Nafs-i-Ammārā*, 'the soul depraved'.
2. *Nafs-i-Lawwāmā*, 'the soul accusatory'.
3. *Nafs-i-Mulhama*, 'the soul inspired'.
4. *Nafs-i-Muṭma'inna*, 'the soul tranquil'.
5. *Nafs-i-Rāḍiyya*, 'the soul satisfied'.
6. *Nafs-i-Marḍiyya*, 'the soul satisfying'.
7. *Nafs-i-Ṣāfiyya wa Kāmila*, 'the soul clarified and perfect'.

TAJALLI, THE DIVINE EFFULGENCE AND MYSTIC ILLUMINATION.

Muslim theologians are wont to speak of *Tawḥidu 'dh-dhāt*, Unity of the Essence, *Tawḥidu'ṣ-ṣīfāt*, Unity of the Attributes, and *Tawḥidu'l-Af'āl*, Unity of Acts, when speaking of the Deity in monistic terms. There is only one Essence and all manifestations of that One Essence, whether in attributes or acts, though apparently diverse and manifold, are in reality one. All existence is the sphere of this manifestation. When men act it is really God acting ; when they display certain attributes these are really attributes of the Divine. This manifestation is effected through the Divine Effulgence. But while all men display the effects of this Effulgence, only the mystic is able to apprehend it. The ordinary man will attribute his actions to himself but the mystic seeks to become aware that his actions are acts of the Divine. Thus in the mystic experience there is illumination which corresponds to the Divine Effulgence. *Tajallī* then on the Divine side represents the outgoing Effulgence of the Divine towards the creature, and on the creaturely side the illumination which draws the creature back to the Divine. Corresponding to the Divine "descent" is the mystic "ascent".

The traveller on the mystic path journeying on the ascent to God, receives illumination in varying degrees through the self-manifestation of the Deity, in the following ascending order: *Tajallī-i-af'āl*, the mystic illumination of the Divine acts, *Tajallī-i-shuhūdī*, the mystic illumination of the Divine names, *Tajallī-i-ṣifātī*, the mystic illumination of the Divine attributes, and *Tajallī-i-dhātī*, the mystic illumination of the Divine Essence. We now proceed to a brief description of these.

(1) THE MYSTIC ILLUMINATION OF THE DIVINE ACTS.

In the Effulgence of Creative Truth in His acts, in so far as this relates to the *locus* in which it is made manifest, the creature sees the flow of power in all things. Thus God, the Mover of these and the One who brings them to rest, makes Himself evident by negating the act of the creature and establishing His own. The creature in this sphere in which the divine manifestation is witnessed is deprived of strength, power and will. Men in this stage may be of different sorts. To one God shews His will first and then His act. Such a creature is then deprived of strength, act and will and this is the highest of the stages of the illumination of the divine acts. To another God shews His will but shews it being put into operation by creaturely agents and its flow under the dominance of His power. Some see the command at the time an act proceeds from the created and trace it back to God. To another God makes that evident after the procession of the act from the created. There is another who does not shew forth any act of his own but only the act of God. Such an one does not attribute any act to himself. He does not say in obedience that he is obedient nor in sinfulness that he is a sinner. Such a person may eat with you and then swear he has never eaten and then swear again that he has never sworn and in spite of this be honest in the sight of God.[1]

Jīlī, speaking of those to whom the will is made known before the act, says : "Though we expect such a person to follow the outward Law, yet he may disobey it in obedience to the Divine will. In this case we do not condemn him, but leave the matter between him and God."

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[1] See Jili, *Insanu 'l-kamil* Vol. 1. p. 34.

(2) THE MYSTIC ILLUMINATION OF THE DIVINE NAMES.

When God manifests Himself to a servant in one of His names, then that one is so completely drowned in the radiance of that name, that if you should invoke God by that name, his servant will answer you because the name is applicable to him. It is thus that Jīlī opens his discussion of this stage of illumination. He then proceeds to describe the gradual revelation of different names to the Mystic. The name first manifested to him is Existence. This is followed by the name One. The more the name particularises the higher in the scale it is. Under the effulgence of the name Allah, the intensity of the illumination is such as to overbear the mystic and overwhelm him as though he were crushed under a mountain. Here the name of the mystic is obliterated and there is established in its place the name of Allah. Thus the mystic receives the illumination of the names one by one, through the effulgence of the names, till finally the name *Qayyūm* is manifested to him and in him and he reaches the highest stage of the Illumination of the Divine Names. Thence he proceeds to the apprehension of the effulgence of the Divine attributes.

(3) THE MYSTIC ILLUMINATION OF THE DIVINE ATTRIBUTES.

By the effulgence of the Divine attributes, the essence of the Mystic is invested one by one with the attributes of God, really, actually and absolutely, just as any object receiving an attribute becomes qualified by it. When a man is the object of illumination of any attribute, he may be likened to one embarking on a boat and launching out on a sea which he is to explore to its uttermost reaches. Thus he is to explore the whole range of the attribute till he attains perfection in it and becomes completely invested with it. Then he receives the illumination of further attributes until he has exhausted the whole range of them.

When a man is the recipient of the effulgence of the attributes, his own existence is obliterated and when the light of servile existence is extinguished and the spirit of his creatureliness annihilated, then God sets up in the temple of the human body—but this without interpenetration or permeation (*ḥulūl*)—from His essence, a subtle substance not detached from Himself nor joined to the creature as a substitute for that of which he was deprived or that which was lost in annihilation (*fanā*).

(4) THE MYSTIC ILLUMINATION OF THE DIVINE ESSENCE.

When "Essence" is used of the Absolute it implies the dropping of all modes, adjuncts, relations and aspects. Thus the Effulgence of the Divine Essence is without any reference at all to any name or attribute. It is the Effulgence of the Absolute Being on the highest plane when He is conceived as pure essence.

When the mystic receives illumination on this plane, he becomes the Perfect Unit (*al-fardu'-kāmil*), or the

Universal Succour (*al-g͟hawt͟hu'l-jāmi'*),[1] to whom all resort for aid and to whom obeisance is made in prayer. Through him God succours the whole universe. As *al-Mahdī* he is the rightly guided. He is the Seal of Sainthood and the Vicar of God as narrated in the story of Adam. The ultimate constituents of all existences are drawn towards him to obey his command as iron is drawn to a magnet. The world of sense is subdued by his might and he does what he wills by his power. Nothing is veiled from him for when the subtle substance of the Divine is in this saint as pure essence unconditioned by any degree of what is appropriate to divinity or creatureliness, then he gives to every degree of existence, whether Divine or creaturely, its due, and nothing can hinder him from doing so ; for what hinders the Essence is its conditioning by name, quality or degree, but here all hindrance disappears because there is nothing but pure essence. Therefore with it all things are actual for there is nothing to hinder whereas in other essences things are sometimes actual and sometimes potential.[2]

FANA, 'ANNIHILATION.'

Fanā or 'annihilation', is the state which precedes that of 'subsistence' (or *baqā*). There has been much speculation as to the true significance of the term. Sa'īd K͟harrāz, who according to 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī, was the author of this doctrine, says, "Annihilation is annihilation of consciousness of manhood (*'ubūdiyyat*), and subsistence is subsistence in the contemplation of Godhead (*ilāhiyyat*)." This is explained by the author of the *Kashfu 'l-Maḥjūb* to mean, that "It is an imperfection to be conscious in one's actions that one is a man, and one attains to real manhood (*bandagī*) when one is not conscious of them, but is annihilated so as not to see them, and becomes subsistent through beholding the actions of God. Hence all one's actions are referred to God, not to one's self, and whereas a man's actions that are connected with himself are imperfect, those which are attached to him by God are perfect. Therefore, when anyone becomes annihilated from things that depend on himself, he becomes subsistent through the beauty of Godhead."[1]

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[1] Microcosmic Pole, see Nicholson ; *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 130.

[2] *Insánu 'l-kámil*, vol. 1. cap. 15.

Some have gone further than this and have explained *fanā* to mean, "the non-cognizance of the traveller's attributes as his own." Others say that "*fanā* is the disappearance of the *Anīyyat*, the I-ness of the traveller in the I-ness of God." Again there are those who assert that "in *fanā*, the essence, the attributes and actions of the traveller become the essence, attributes, and actions of God."[2] It is this last opinion which is commonly accepted by the majority of the Ṣūfīs in India.

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[1] *Kashf ul-Mahjúb*. p. 245.

[2] Khaja Khan, *Studies in Tasawwuf*, p. 73.

According to some exponents of the doctrine, there are three degrees in *fanā*, viz., *Qurb-i-Farā'iḍ*, proximity of obligations, *Qurb-i-Nawāfil*, proximity of supererogations, and *Jama' baynu'l-Qurbayn*, the union of two proximities.[2] In the first the Ṣūfī has no 'actions' of his own, he becomes an instrument in the hand of God, who acts through him. In the second, the order is reversed and the Ṣūfī becomes an agent and God his instrument. In the third degree the mystic finds himself neither as an agent nor as an instrument ; but he is one with the Essence of God.

> "In that glory is no 'I' or 'We' or 'Thou'
> 'I', 'We', 'Thou', and 'He' are all one thing."

Professor Nicholson says, "The enraptured Ṣūfī who has passed beyond the illusion of subject and object and broken through to the Oneness can either deny that he is anything or affirm that he is all things." The former is the 'negative' and the latter the 'positive' aspects of cosmic consciousness. Both these aspects of *fanā* may be illustrated by the two following poems of Jalālu'd Dīn Rūmī.

The following illustrates the 'negative' way:—

> "O Muslim what can I do ? For I do not know myself,
> I am not a Christian nor a Jew, a fireworshipper nor a Muslim.
> I am not of the East or the West, nor of Land nor of Sea.
> I am not of the Elemental nor of the Circling Spheres.
> I am not of earth nor of air, of water nor of fire.

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[2] Najmu'l-Ghani. *Tadhkiratu's Suluk.* (Pub. Muradabad). p. 365.

I am not of the Empyrean nor of the outspread carpet of the
world, indeed I am not in the category of creation at all.
I am not Hindustan nor of China nor from near-by Bulgaria.
I am not of the land of Iraq nor of the dust of Khurasan.
I am not of the Faith (or the present obligations of religion) nor
of the hereafter, nor of Heaven nor of Hell.
I am not from Adam nor from the garden of Paradise.
My dwelling is without location, my trail without trace.
There is neither body nor soul for I am the Soul of Souls.
I have expelled duality from myself. I have seen the two worlds
as one.
Let me seek One, say One, know One and desire One.
He the First, He the Last, He the Manifest, He the Hidden.
Without Him and other than Him nothing else I know.
I am drunk with the Soul of Love and the two worlds have
passed from my hand.
Except drinking and revelry I have no other aim.
If in my life some day I should draw but one breath without Him,
From that time, yes! from that very hour, I would repent me of
my life.
If in private some day just for a moment my hand might be given
to the Friend.
I would tread underfoot the two worlds and wave the other hand
(dancing in exultation).
How wonderful, my friends! what bird am I that I strike wing in
the egg?
Within this body of water and clay, all is Love and all is Soul.

The 'positive aspect' may be illustrated in the following poem:

O Mussulmans!
Is there lover in the world ? Then I am he !
Muslim, Pagan, Christian monk ? Lo, I am he !
Shibli, Karkhi, Bayazid and Junayd,
Bu-Hanifa, Shaf'i, Malik, I am he !

Throne and Carpet, Tablet, Footstool, Height and Depth,
Whether one with God or sundered—all you see !
I, "Two bowshots off," "above", and "nigher still",
Yea, I am Injil, Psalter, Koran, utterly!
Cup-boy and lees, minstrel and cup, lute-string and song,
Sweetheart and lamp, wine and carouse, all these I be!
Sects and creeds seventy-and-two in the world?
Not one that remain ; but all of them see thou in me!
Four elements in the World, Soul and Body too,
Earth, Air, Water, and Fire, what are they all but me?
Truth, falsehood, evil and good, easy and hard, I am;
Knowledge, virtue, temperance, faith and piety!
Blazing fire of Hell, fierce-flaming am I;
Yea ! Garden of Paradise and Houri heavenly!
Wearer of coat of skin, with quiver and lariat I;
Yet crown and diadem of both worlds' majesty!
Celestials and fairies, Jinn and Man I am ;
This Earth and Heaven, and in them what'er there be!
"O Shams-i-Tabriz, what is the end of your claim ?"
Hear then the gist : The Soul of the Soul, I am He. 1

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1 Translated by the Dr. J. W. Sweetman. *Diwan-i Shams-Tabriz*, (Newal Kishore Press, p. 532).

CHAPTER V

The Path (*continued.*)

i. DEVOTION TO THE *PIR*.

The Ṣūfi, in order to attain to his goal and reach the end of his journey, is obliged to follow the directions of a leader who lays down for him certain rules of practice, and otherwise guides him in every detail of his life. A person who attempts to traverse the 'Path' without the aid of such a counsellor is said to have Satan for his guide and is compared to a tree that for want of a gardener's care brings forth "none or bitter fruit." [1]

Thus the first requirement for one desiring to follow the life of a Ṣūfī is to place himself under a guide who is called a *shaykh* or *pīr*, both words mean an 'elder', or a *murshid*, *i.e.*, 'leader'. Next he must take the vow of obedience (*bay'at*) to his *pīr*. Thus, he becomes a *murīd*, 'aspirant' or disciple. A *pīr* is to be followed blindly, and, in actual practice, is obeyed as much the prophet Muhammad. The least word of a *pīr* is absolute law to his disciple. "All the *pīr's* wishes, even though they contravene the letter of the *sharī'at*, must be fulfilled. The saying of a famous mystic poet illustrates this: "If the tavern-keeper (i. *e. pīr*) orders thee to colour thy prayer-mat with wine, do it: for the traveller is not unaware of the customs and manners of the stages of love's path."

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[1] Cp. Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islam* p. 32

The *pīr* is believed to be able to 'transmit' spiritual power to his *murīd*. This he does by the exercise of *tawajjuh* 'concentration.' When a *pīr* desires to exercise *tawajjuh*, on one of his disciples, he seats himself near him and proceeds, in imagination, to picture his own heart as in close proximity to that of his *murīd*, at the same time concentrating his mind upon the idea that his power is now being transmitted from his own heart to that of the other. At the same time the *murīd* is required to concentrate his mind on the idea that he is receiving the power from his *pīr*. This rite is generally performed at the time when the *pīr*, after the performance of *dhikr*, is in an abnormal state of mind.

Tawajjuh is regarded as the one great means of producing a spiritual change in the life of another. A powerful saint is often believed to be able to work a very great transformation in the life of his disciple by this process. At times he is thought to be able to exercise such *tawajjuh* by a mere look so that any one on whom his glance may fall is believed to attain the degree of saintship.

Further, it is the *pīr* alone who can lead his disciple from the beginning of his journey to its end, guiding him at every 'stage' and helping him in every 'state'. The hypnotic process (implied in the practice of *tawajjuh*) by which a *pīr* helps his *murīd* to reach the stage of 'annihilation' is described by J. P. Brown in the following words: "The *murīd* must mystically, always bear his *murshid* in mind, and become mentally absorbed in him, through a constant meditation and contemplation of him. The teacher must be his shield against all evil thoughts. The spirit of the teacher follows him in all his efforts, and accompanies him wherever he may be, quite as a guardian spirit. To such a degree is this carried that he sees the master in all men and in all things, just as a willing subject is under the influence of the magnetiser. This condition is called 'self-annihilation' into the *murshid* or *shaykh*. The latter finds, in his own visionary dreams, the degree at which the *murīd* has reached, and whether or not his soul or spirit has become bound to his own.

"At this state of the disciple, the *shaykh* passes him over to the spiritual influence of the *pīr*, or original founder of the particular *ṭarīqa* or 'path' to which they belong, long since deceased, and he sees the latter only by the spiritual aid of the former. This is called 'self-annihilation' into the *pīr*. He now becomes so much a part of the *pīr* as to possess all his spiritual powers, and may perform even all of his supernatural acts.

"The third grade also leads him, through the spiritual aid of the *shaykh*, up to the Prophet himself, whom he now sees in all things. This state is called, like the preceding, 'self-annihilation' into the Prophet.

"The fourth degree leads him even to God. He becomes a part of the Divinity, and sees Him in all things."[1]

This exposition shows that the final stage of the journey, 'absorption in the Deity,' is not attained until the aspirant has annihilated himself in his *pīr*.

ii. SUFI DEVOTIONS

The Ṣūfī, in the course of his journey, performs certain acts of devotion, which are either of a general or special nature. The former class consists of the following:

(*a*) *Namāz*, the ritual prayer, or worship.
(*b*) *Tilāwat*, the recitation of the Quran.
(*c*) *Awrād*. set forms of prayer.

The 'special' acts are as follow:

(*a*) *Mujāhada*, acts of self-mortification.
(*b*) *Dhikr*, remembering God, through particular exercises of the breath.
(*c*) *Murāqaba*, contemplation.

GENERAL ACTS OF DEVOTION.

(*a*) *Namāz* (*ṣalāt*) is one of the prescribed rites of Islam. The Ṣūfīs notwithstanding the fact that they lay the chief emphasis on the regulation of the inward life of the soul, attach importance also to the ritual practices of Islam, such as *ṭahārat*, ceremonial purification, *namāz* ceremonial worship, *ḥaj* pilgrimage to Mecca, etc. 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī says, "The most important act of mortification is to observe the external rules of discipline (*adāb-i-ẕāhir*) assiduously in all circumstances."[1] Certain of his anecdotes illustrate the stress laid upon external practices by the teachers of Ṣūfism "It is related that Ibrāhīm K͟hawwāṣ said: 'I desire God to give me an everlasting life in this world, in order that, while mankind are engrossed in the pleasures of the world and forget God. I may observe the rules of religion amidst the affliction of the world and remember God.' And it is related that Abū Ṭāhir Ḥaramī lived forty years at Mecca, and went outside of the sacred territory whenever he purified himself, because he would not pour the water which he had used for that purpose on the ground that God had called His. When Ibrāhīm K͟hawwāṣ was ill of dysentery in the congregational mosque at Rayy, he performed sixty complete ablutions in the course of a day and night, and he died in the water."[2]

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[1] Rose. The *Darvishes*. p. 330.

In Ṣūfism, however, a spiritual significance is attached to every external duty; for instance, 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī writing about the ceremonial purification which precedes prayer, says, "Outward and inward purification must go together; *e.g.*, when a man washes his hands he must wash his heart clean of worldliness, and when he puts water in his mouth he must purify his mouth from the mention of other than God, and when he washes his face he must turn away from all familiar objects and turn towards God, and when he wipes his head he must resign his affairs to

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 292.

[2] *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 292-293.

God, and when he washes his feet he must not form the intention of taking his stand on anything except according to the command of God."[1]

Similarly a spiritual significance has been attached to every movement in the performance of *namāz.* "One of the Shaykhs says: 'Four things are necessary to him who prays: annihilation of the lower soul (*nafs*), loss of the natural powers, purity of the inmost heart, and perfect contemplation.' 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī explaining this saying writes: "Annihilation of the lower soul is to be attained only by the concentration of thought; loss of natural powers only by affirmation of the Divine Majesty, which involves the destruction of all that is other than God; purity of the inmost heart only by love; and perfect contemplation only by purity of the inmost heart."[2] Imām Ghazālī has devoted an entire section of his famous work on Ṣūfism, called *Iḥyā'ul-'Ulūm* to *ṭahārat* and *namāz*, in which he seeks to give a spiritual interpretation to these acts and to attach an inward significance to every movement made in connection with their performance. For instance, speaking of the worshipper's turning his face towards Mecca, he says: "It is a turning of the outward face from other directions to the directions of the House of God. Do you suppose that turning the heart from other things to the matter of Allah is not desired of you? Away with you! For there is nothing else desired but this. These external activities are only the setting in motion of the inward activities."[1] Sometimes the Ṣūfīs, following this spirit of *namāz* and not the rigid rules which regulate every movement of the worshipper, modify the outward modes of its observance so as to make it more expressive of their inward feeling. For instance, sometimes in the midst of his worship a Ṣūfī will take off his cap and cast it on the ground as an expression of his humility before God. Now, to take off one's cap and place it at the feet of another is an extreme form of humility. A further modification may be observed in a special form of *namāz* called *Ṣalātu'l-ma'kūs* (obverse prayer) which has been offered by certain saints as an act of austerity. This kind of prayer is performed by hanging oneself upside down in a solitary place, preferably in a well, and there repeating the prescribed prayers. accompanied by signs in the place of bodily movements.

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 292.

[2] *Kashf al-Majub* p. 302.

(*b*) T*ilāwat*, *i. e.* the practice of reciting the Quran. In *tilāwat* the Ṣūfī, as an orthodox Muslim, believes that he is pronouncing the very words of Allah and so it seems to him that he is hearing the sound of the Beloved of his soul. In consequence of such an impression he is often thrown into a state of ecstasy in course of his devotional reading. Thus for Ṣūfīs of certain Religious Orders, who are forbidden the use of music as a means of inducing the state of ecstasy, the reading or chanting of the Quran supplies its place.

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[1] Al-Ghazali, *Ihya ul-Ulum*. Book of Worship, English Translation by Rev. E.L. Calverly. Pubd. C.L.S. Madras p. 107.

But even in the case of those Ṣūfīs who, like the Chishtīs, freely indulge in music, there is something in the mere reading of the Quran which makes them go into rapture. It is related that Kh̲wāja Quṭbu'd-Dīn Bak̲h̲tiyār Kākī, a famous saint of the Chishtī Order, on coming across a verse in the Quran containing some Divine threat of punishment used to strike his chest and become unconscious; but whenever he read a verse containing God's promise of His grace and reward, he would pass into a state of 'bewilderment' (*ḥayrat*) [1], or ecstasy, and would remain in that state for a quite a long time.

Bābā Farīd, another Chishtī saint, is reported to have said "*Tilāwat* is the best of all forms of devotion; ....to read the Qurān is to converse with God." "Every day God speaks seventy times to the heart of His seeker; saying, 'If thou art my seeker, then leave all the acts of thy austerity and occupy thyself solely with the reading of the Quran.' [2]" And Niẓāmu'd-Dīn of Delhi said, "Reading of the Quran bestows two benefits upon its readers, first it guards the eyes from all ailments, and second for every reading the merit of a thousand years is recorded for its reciters." [3]

(*c*) *Awrād* (Sing. *wird*, lit, exercise, practice or task) set forms of prayers for daily recitation. There are many *awrād*, which are believed to be of great efficacy in helping a 'traveller' to attain nearness to God. The most popular of all is *durūd*, prayer for Muhammad. There are several forms of it, the shortest one which the Muslims repeat whenever they utter the name of their Prophet or hear it being pronounced, is as follows: 'Mercy and peace be upon him.' An extended form of it, always used in *namāz*, runs as follows: "O God, have mercy upon Muhammad, and on his decendants, as thou didst have mercy on Abraham and on his descendants. Thou art to be praised and thou art great. O God, bless Muhammad and his descendants as thou didst bless Abraham and his descendants. Thou art to be praised and thou art great."

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[1] Badru'd-Din Ishaq *Israrul-Awliya* Urdu Tr. (Manzil-i-Naqshbandiyya, Lahore) p. 35.

[2] *Ibid.* 35.

[3] *Khwaja Muhibbu 'Ullah, Miftahu'l-'Ashiqin* (Manzil-i-Naqshbandiyya, Lahore) p. 13.

Other forms of prayer used for the purpose of daily repetition are called *Du'a-i-Māthūra*, 'recorded prayers'. These are said to have been used by Muhammad and are handed down in the Traditions. Sometimes, in addition to these, the Ninety-nine names of Allah, and the Ninety-nine names of Muhammad, together with the titles of some saint or other are repeated every day. Besides these prayers every Ṣūfī repeats the *shajara* (lit. a tree, a table tracing the line of succession in a particular Religious Order to Muhammad) of his Order as a pious practice. Further, every Order has its special set of prayers, called *khatm* (lit. sealing) which briefly consists of repeating certain chapters of the Quran, the Ninety-nine names of Allah, the Ninety-nine names of Muhammad and the names of the saints of the order.

The following forms of ejaculatory prayers are also used for daily recitation chiefly with the help of a rosary (*tasbīḥ*) :

(1) *Tasbīḥ* viz., *Subḥān Allāh*, "Holiness to God".

(2) *Taḥmīd* viz., *Al-ḥamdu li'llāh*, "Praise be to God."

(3) *Takbīr* viz , *Allāhu Akbar*. "God is great."

THE SPECIAL ACTS OF DEVOTION

(a) *Mujāhada*, self-mortification. The term is derived from the root *jahad*, 'striving' from which comes also the word *jihād*, 'waging war against the unbelievers.' Sometimes the *Ṣūfīs* treat this word *jihād* as interchangeable with *mujāhada*, and then they translate it as 'striving against one's own self'. Thus, for instance, the verse of the Quran, "Those who fight strenuously (*jāhadū*) for Us We will surely guide them into Our ways," is translated by the Ṣūfīs to mean : "Those, who strive to the utmost (*jāhadū*) for Our sake, We will guide them in Our way." (Sura. 29 : 69). Further, Sūfīs quote a tradition which makes Muhammad to say : "The *Mujāhid* (literally, one who fights in *jihād*, holy war) is he who struggles with all his might against himself (*jāhadū nafsahu*) for God's. sake". According to another tradition Muhammad after the battle of Badr is reported to have said, We have returned from the lesser war (*al-jihādu'l-aṣghar*) to the greater war (*al-jihādu'l-akbar*)." On being asked, "What is the greater war ?" he replied, "It is the struggle against one's self (*mujāhadatu'n-nafs*). The Ṣūfīs infer from this tradition that Muhammad 'adjudged the mortification of the lower soul to be superior to the Holy War against unbelievers, because the former is more painful.' The term *mujāhada* is in fact, however applied to acts of penance and austerity. The traveller observes prolonged fasts, repeats some names of God night and day, and denies to himself the ordinary comforts of life.

(b) *D̲hikr*, 'remembering', is a term applied to special acts of devotion by means of certain breathing exercises and also by controlling respiration. There are many ways of performing *d̲hikr* ; some of the more important ones may be noted here.

(1) *D̲hikr-i-jalī*.

i. The worshipper sits in the usual posture and shouts the word *Allāh*, drawing his voice as from his left side and then from his throat.

ii. Sitting as at prayers he repeats the word *Allāh* still louder than before, first from his right knee, and then from his left side.

iii. Folding his legs under him he repeats the word *Allāh* first from his right knee, and then from his left side, still louder.

iv. Still remaining in the same position he shouts the word *Allāh* first from the left knee, then from the right knee, then from the left side, and lastly, in front, still louder.

v. Sitting as at prayer, with face towards Mecca he closes his eyes, says *Lā*, drawing the sound as from his navel up to his left shoulder ; then he says *ilāha*. drawing out the sound as from his brain ; and lastly, *a'llāh*, repeated from his left side with great energy.[1]

Every act of drawing the sound of *Allāh* or the syllables of the creed (viz., *Lā*, *ilāha*, and *illa 'llāh*), from sides, front, navel and brain, as described above, is called a *ḍarb.*, lit, 'striking'. It will be noticed that the practice (i) contains only one such act, and is called *dhikr-i-yak ḍarbī.*, the *dhikr* of one *ḍarb* : and similarly the *dhikr* (ii) contains two such acts, and is therefore called *dhikr-i-do ḍarbī* the *dhikr* of two *ḍarbs.* The rest of the *dhikrs* for the same reasons are named, *sih ḍarbī*, of three *ḍarbs* ; *chahār ḍarbī*, of four *ḍarbs* ; *panch ḍarbī* of five *ḍarbs* and *shash ḍarbī*, of six *ḍarbs.*

(2) *Dhikr-i-khafī.*

i. Closing his eyes and his lips, the worshipper says, "with the tongue of his heart, *Allāhu samī'un*, i. e. "God hears" ; *Allāhu baṣīrun*, i. e. "God sees" ; *Allāhu 'alīmun* i. e. "God the knower." The first being drawn, as it were, from the navel to the breast ; the second, from the breast to the brain ; the third, from the brain up to the heavens ; and then again repeated stage by stage backwards and forwards.

ii. He then says in a low voice, *Allāh*, from the right knee, and then from the left side.

iii. With each exhalation of the breath he says *lā ilāha*, with each inhalation, *illa 'llāh.*[2]

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[1] Bevan Jones, *The People of the Mosque*. p. 161.

[2] Bevan Jones, *op, cit.* pp. 161-62.

(3) *Sulṭānu'l-Adhkār*, the *dhikr* of all *dhikrs*.

Occasionally, of set purpose the worshipper centres his mind on the exact position in the body of the various *laṭā'if*, as described in a previous chapter; and, by concentrated thinking he endeavours to make them 'active with remembrance' of God. In this effort he is greatly helped by the *tawajjuh* of his *pīr* (see p. 89). When at length he realizes that all his *laṭā'if* are active with the remembrance of God he is said to have accomplished the *Sulṭānu'l-Adhkār*.

(4) *Ḥabs-i-dam*, restraining breathing.

In this case the devotee holds his breath and conceives of his *qalb* repeating the first part of the creed *Lā ilāha illa 'llāh* as many times as possible in one breath. Gradually his powers of control are so increased that he is able to repeat the creed, in one breath, several thousand times.

(5) *Pās-i-anfās*, guarding the respirations.

In this particular exercise the worshipper summons before his mind a picture of his heart situated within his left breast, and imagines that he sees the word *Allāh* engraved on it in luminous Arabic characters. At the same time he brings himself to believe that while inhaling his breath he is producing the sound *Allāh*, and that while exhaling he makes the sound *hū*.[1]

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[1] Hu, the last syllable of the word *Allahu* is another form of *huwa*, the pronoun of the third person singular. In Sufi language it indicates, *Sirr Allah* the inmost consciousness of God. Prof. Nicholson says, "Jili demonstrates this by analysing the name Allah, which in Arabic is written ALLH : take away the A, and there remains LLH-*lillah*-"to God" : then take away the first L, and you are left with LH-lahu-"to Him" : remove the second L, and you have Huwa-"He". *Studies in Islamic mysticism*, p. 96 note.

This practice may be developed to such an extent that the Ṣūfī imagines that the syllables *Allāh* and *hū* accompany every act of inhalation and exhalation.

(6) *Maḥmūda* and *naṣīra*.

In the former of these two the eyes are made to converge on the tip of the nose, and in the latter towards the middle of the forehead. While doing so the worshipper meditates on the thought that God is present and sees him.

(7) *Nafī-athbāt*, negation and affirmation.

The worshipper sits in the posture of *namāz* and faces Mecca. He so breathes as to imagine that he is bringing up the phrase *Lā ilāha* from his navel, and then expels it by a jerk in the direction of his right shoulder. He then utters *illa 'llāh* and jerks his head towards his heart as though to imprint these words on it.

(c) *Murāqaba*, watching, is a term used for meditation and contemplation.

It is thus practised :

"At the outset the worshipper performs *dhikr* by repeating the phrases : *Allāhu ḥāḍirī*. i. e. "God who is present" (with me) ; *Allāhu nāẓirī*, "God who sees me" ; *Allāhu shāhidī* "God who witnesses me" ; *Allāhu mā'ī* "God who is with me."

"Having recited this *dhikr*, either aloud or mentally, the worshipper proceeds to meditate upon some verse or verses of the Quran.

The following give some idea of the line of thought considered by Muslim mystics to be the most devotional and spiritual.

"He (God) is first. He is last. The manifest, the hidden, and who knoweth all things". (57 : 3)

"He is with you wheresoever ye be" (57 : 4)

"We (God) are closer to him (man) than his neck-vein" (50 : 15).

"Whichever way ye turn there is the face of God" (2 : 109).

"God compasseth all things" (4 : 125).

"All on earth shall pass away, but the face of the Lord shall abide resplendent with majesty and glory" (55 : 26, 27).[1]

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[1] Chapter on Sufism by Subhan in Bevan Jones, *The People of the Mosque*, p. 162

CHAPTER VI

Notable Features of Sufi Practice.

i. VENERATION OF THE SAINTS

The belief in Awliyā, (sing. *walī*, lit, a friend) saints, is common among Muslims, and is a direct outcome of Ṣūfī teaching. While the Ṣūfīs, in virtue of being God's chosen people, are looked upon as elect of the Muslims, the saints, in virtue of being God's 'friends', are regarded as the elect of the Ṣūfīs. The biographies of these saints, their miracles, their teaching, and legends concerning them are not merely sought out and eagerly studied but their names and more popular sayings are on the lips of about seventy per cent of the followers of Islam. People of every class among the Muslims invoke their names in hours of distress, and pilgrimages are constantly made to their tombs and shrines. In fact, there are many Muslims who pay more attention to the saints than to the obligatory duties of their religion.

God is believed to have exalted some of the saints so highly as to bestow upon them the title of Beloved; to others He has granted such mysterious power as makes them the very cause of the world's subsistence. According to the prevailing view it is of these that, God has established in the Quran, "Verily on the friends (*Awliyā*) of God no fear shall come, and they shall not grieve" (10:63); and again "God is the friend (*walī*) of those who believe" (2:258). Yet another saying ascribed to Muhammad, reveals their dignity: viz , "He who hurts a saint (*walī*) has allowed himself to make war on me."

'Alīu'l-Hujwirī, expressing the common view of the Ṣūfīs about the saints, declares that God has marked out the saints to manifest His actions and has purged them of their natural corruptions, and that it is among them that visible proof of the religion of Islam is to be found. Thus he writes, "God, then, has caused the prophetic evidence (*burhān-i-nabawī*) to remain down to the present day; and has made the Saints the means whereby it is manifested, in order that the signs of the Truth and the proof of Muhammad's veracity may continue to be clearly seen. He has made the Saints the governors of the universe; they have become entirely devoted to His business, and have ceased to follow their sensual affections. Through the blessing of their advent the rain falls from heaven, and through the purity of their lives the plants spring up from the earth, and through their spiritual influence the Muslims gain victories over the unbelievers".[1]

There is a class of saints known as *pīr-i-gh̲ā'ib*, invisible saints, who are worshipped in some parts of India. Rose speaks of them as follows: "The *pīr-i-gh̲ā'ib* or *gh̲ā'ib pīr* appears to be a name given to a class of saints whose names are not known or whose miracle it was to hide themselfves from the people at some particular period of their life, or it might be that the body of the saint disappeared after his death".[1] This popular belief, however, is allied to the Ṣūfī view of the 'concealed' saints, about whom 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī says: "There are four thousand who are concealed and do not know one another and are not aware of the excellence of their state, but in all circumstances are hidden from themselves and from mankind".[2]

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 213.

ii. THE HIERARCHY OF THE SAINTS.

The saints, as a class, from an invisible hierarchy at the head of which is a *Quṭb*, Axis or Pole. He is the most eminent of them all, and on him the government of the world is believed to depend. He is also called *Ghawth*, 'Succourer' of the world. When a saint attains to the dignity of *Quṭb*, he is given the name of 'Abdu'llāh and is granted two attendants, called *Imāmayn*, leaders. The one on his right hand is named 'Abdu'r-Rabb, and he watches the *'Ālam-i-Malakūt*, the angelic world; the one on his left is called 'Abdu'l-Malik, and he keeps watch on the *'Ālam-i-Nāsūt*, the physical world. Some Ṣūfīs claim that besides having an invisible dominion over the universe, the *Quṭb* is also endowed, at times, with temporal powers. Each of the following is said to have been the *Quṭb* of his, time, viz., the first four successors of Muhammad, called Rightly-guided *khalīfas*, Ḥasan and Ḥusayn (the

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(1) Ro se, A *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab*. Vol. I, p. 525.

(2) *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 213.

grandsons of Muhammad), and the *khalīfas* Mu'āwīya, 'Umar b. Abdu'l-'Aziz, and Mutawakkil.[1]

It is further believed that the *Quṭb* sometimes convenes a council meeting of all the saints over which he himself presides. The members, though scattered all over the world, on being supernaturally informed of the meeting are in no way impeded by barriers of time and space, but crossing seas, mountains, and deserts, arrive at their destination in the twinkling of an eye.[2]

Next in dignity to the *Quṭb* are four *Awtād*, (sing. *witd*, a pillar) supports, who are appointed to the four corners of the world. The one in the east is called 'Abdu'l-Ḥaqq, the one in the west, 'Abdu'l-'Alīm; the others in the north and south are called 'Abdu'l Murīd and 'Abdu'l-Qādir respectively.[2] They receive these names on their appointment to the office. According to 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī, "the *Awtād* must go round the whole universe, and if there should be any place on which their eyes have not fallen, next day some imperfection will appear in that place: and they must inform the *Quṭb*, in order that he may fix his attention on the weak spot, that by his blessing the imperfection may be removed."[3]

Next come Abdāl (pl. of *badl*, "substitute") so called, because, according to some, their natures un-

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(1) Najmul-Ghani, *Tadhkiratus-Suluk*, (Nayyar-i-A'zam Press, Muradabad.) pp. 188-9.

(2) „ „ „ „ „

(3) *Kashf-al-Mahjub*, p.

dergo a complete change spiritually. Others, however, explain that they are named "changing ones," because their *cadre* is always fixed; as soon as one dies another takes his place. The *Abdāl* are commonly said to be forty in number, but some say they are only seven and that to each of these is entrusted the care of a continent. After these are five *'Amd*, or "pillars", the support of the universe. Some authorities represent the *Abdāl*, to be of lower grade than the *'Amd*. Next come seventy *Nujubā* (pl. of *najīb*, a 'noble"), and three hundred *Nuqubā* (pl. of *naqīb*, a "chief"). Then, besides these special ranks, there are a vast number of *awliyā*, or the more ordinary 'saints'.

iii. *ZIYARAT*, VISITATION TO A SHRINE.

The visitation of shrines is a very common practice in Islam, and has its origin in the Ṣūfī belief that "the saints of God die not, but merely depart from one habitation to another." In consequence the excessive honour paid to saints and *pīrs* in their life-time is continued to them after their death. As a rule shrines are erected over their graves, and, usually on Thursday evenings, small earthenware lamps are lit and placed on the tombs. Flowers are also offered.

Pilgrimage to a shrine is called *ziyārat*, a visitation, while the shrine itself is called a *mazār*, a place of visitation; it is sometimes called *dargāh*, a royal court. Such a shrine may, at times, not contain the remains of a saint at all, but is merely a place dedicated to some saint. An example of such a shrine is that of Shaykh Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī in Srinagar, Kashmir. Another may be seen in Chittagong, which is dedicated to Bābā Farīd, and in popular language is called, *Chashm-i-Nahar* (*Nahr-i-chashm*) "the fountain of the eye'. The story goes that Bābā Farīd at this spot suspended himself upside down from a tree for thirty years! He took no food, but shed copious tears, and for this reason the place came to be called by the name of *Chashm-i-Nahar*. But as a matter of fact, as we shall see the saint died and was buried at Pākpatan in the Punjab.

A shrine is generally visited on the occasion of the '*urs* of the saint, and at such time special ceremonies are performed. Devotees of the saints attending the celebrations are believed to acquire merit. It would be an endless task to attempt to describe the particular rites attached to the '*urs* of individual saints, but "the form the worship generally takes on the occasion of such visits combine such features as these: Suras 1; 112; 113; and 114 are recited; these are followed by the repetition of certain prayers for the soul of the departed; finally, the worshipper makes some personal requests. As a rule, a vow is made at the time which must be paid at the tomb when the favour is granted. It is a common practice to tie bits of thread or pieces of cloth, etc. on gratings near the tomb by way of reminding the saint of the favour asked." [1]

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[1] Beven Jones, *The People of the Mosque.* pp. 169-170.

iv. *KARAMAT*, MIRACLE.

A miraculous event is said, by the *'ulamā*, to belong to one of the following four classes, which are called *Khāriqu'l-'ādāt*, 'violation of customs'!

"(1) *mu'jiza*, lit. "miracle," which is the sign of prophethood, and is a gift bestowed by God on prophets only;

(2) *karāmat*, lit. "favour" (from God) to work wonders;

(3) *ma'ūnat*, lit. "help", a term used for describing wonderful works performed by an ordinary person by mere accident;

(4) *istidrāj*, lit. "stealth" or "deception", by which is meant the amazing deeds of the magician."[1]

The term *karāmat* is only used for a work of wonder performed by a saint. *Mu'jiza* differs from *karāmat* in this respect only, that the former is exhibited by a prophet as a sign of his prophethood, while the latter manifests the divine power which a saint has acquired through his union with God.

A saint, however, is expected to hide his *karāmat*, while a prophet must exhibit his power of performing miracles in demonstration of his prophetic office. Abū Yazīd Bisṭāmī is quoted to have said: "The saints do not rejoice at the answers to prayers which are the essence of miracles, such as walking on water, and moving in the air and traversing the earth and riding on the heavens, since the prayers of unbelievers receive an answer and the earth contains both Satans and men, and the air is the abode of the birds and the water of the fish. Let not anyone who is perplexed by such things, put any faith in this trickery."[1]

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[1] *Ibid*—p. 168.

As an illustration of the Ṣūfī teaching concerning the attitude that a saint should have towards his *karāmat* the following will suffice: Zulfa, a companion of Rābi'a, is reported to have said: "I said to Rābi'a, "O my aunt, why do you not allow people to visit you?" Rābi'a replied, "I fear lest when I am dead people will relate of me what I did not say or do, what if I had seen, I should have feared or mistrusted. I am told that they say that I find money under my place of prayer, and that I cook (food) in the pot without fire". I said to her, "They relate of you that you find food and drink in your house", and she said, "O daughter of my brother, if I had found such things in my house I would not have touched them, or laid hands upon them, but I tell you that I buy my things and am blessed',.[2]

A close examination of Ṣūfism shows that the thaumaturgic element in it belongs to the period of its later development, and that it has been introduced by the followers of different religious orders in their attempts to vie with one another in proving the superiority of the saints of their respective orders.

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[1] Munawi, *Al-Kawakibu-d-Durriya* p. 123, quoted by Margaret Smith, in *Rabi'a the Mystic*, p. 31.

[2] Sibt b. al-Jawzi, *Mir'atu'z-Zaman*, p. 257, quoted by Margaret Smith, in *op. cit.* p. 37.

Karāmāt (plural) are of endless variety: a few of the more interesting may be noted here.

(1) *Traversing long distances in a moment of time* For instance, it is related that Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī once went from 'Irāq to Rūm in the course of half an hour to say the funeral prayer over the body of a saint who had died. Dārā Shikoh records in his work, *Sakīnatu'l-Awliya*, that Miyān Mīr used occasionally to go to the Ḥijāz from Lahore to spend a night in the cave of Ḥirā, returning before dawn.

(2) *Walking on water,* An instance of such a *karāmat* is found in a story told by Khwāja Ḥusayn of Nagore (in Rajputana). It is said that once, while attending a musical festival at the shrine of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Din Chishtī, he passed into a state of ecstasy. Still in this state he left the shrine followed by a *bhangī* (sweeper), who had previously accepted Islam at his hands, and by one of the musicians. Proceeding towards the jungle he came at length to a large pond, and walked over the water followed by the *bhangī*, though the musician remained standing on the bank.[1]

(3) *Flying in the air.* There is a story to the effect that once Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī was preaching to an audience when he suddenly rose up in the air, shouting "O Israelite, stop and listen to the teaching of Islam!" After flying to some distance he then returned to his place and resumed his sermon. At the conclusion when questioned about his strange

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[1] Najmu'l-Ghani, *Tadhkiratu's-Suluk* p. 53.

behaviour, he merely said, "I saw K͟hiḍr passing the mosque, and so I flew up to him and invited him to listen to my sermon." [1]

(4) *Conversing with inanimate objects.* [2] An instance of such a miracle will be found in connection with the story of Natthe Miyān, a disciple af Miyān Mīr.

(5) *To be provided supernaturally with food, clothing and the other necessities of life.* Several instances of such are to be found in the lives of most of the saints of Islam. [3]

(6) *Prediction of future events.* Every saint is believed to have knowledge not only of things now happening at a distance from him but of coming events. Yet according to Ṣūfī teaching there are five things which no one can predict, and even the Prophet Muhammad is said to have declared that he had no knowledge of them. These are:

(i) The hour of the day of judgment.
(ii) The time when it will rain.
(iii) One's own actions in advance.
(iv) The place where one will die.
(v) Whether a woman with child will have a boy or girl, and whether that child will be fair or dark, of good or bad character. [4]

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[1] Najmu'l-Ghani, *op. cit.* p. 53, 4.

[2] Najmu'l-Ghani *op. cit.* p. 54.

[3] See Attar, *Tadhkiratu'l-Awliya*, and Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazinatu'l-Asfiya*.

[4] Najmu'l-Ghani, *op. cit.* P. 70.

v. *SAMA'*, MUSICAL FESTIVAL

Sama' (lit. 'hearing'), or music, is the term especially applied to a form of musical festival which is organized with a view to induce a state of ecstasy in Ṣūfīs. In India it is popularly called *qawwālī*, and the singers, *qawwāl*.

According to the *'ulamā*, music is forbidden to Muslims, though in some of the religious orders it is not merely permitted but actually encouraged. To the early mystics of Islam the formal recitation of the Quran took the place of music, and that was enough to move their hearts and arouse their emotions. At a later stage, recitations of poetry and a rendering of musical compositions were also permitted on the basis of some tradition attributed to Muhammed and his companions. At some yet later date in the development of Ṣūfīsm certain mystics adopted music as a means of inducing ecstasy. thereby giving rise to sharp differences of opinion. 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī says: "Those who prohibit music do so in order that they may keep the divine commandment, but theologians are agreed that it is permissible to hear musical instruments if they are used for diversion. and if the mind is not led to wickedness through them." The principle to be followed by the Ṣūfīs in the use of music is thus enunciated by 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī, "In practising audition, however, the Ṣūfī Shaykhs desire, not permissibility as the vulgar do, but spiritual advantages. Licence is proper for beasts, but men who are subject to the obligations of religion ought to seek spiritual benefit from their actions.

Once, when I was at Merv, one of the leaders of the Ahl-i-ḥadīth and the most celebrated of them all said to me: 'I have composed a work on the permissibility of audition.' I replied. 'It is a great calamity to religion that an Imām should have made lawful an amusement which is the root of all immorality.' 'If you do not hold it to be lawful,' said he, 'why do you practise it?' I answered: 'Its lawfulness depends on circumstances and cannot be asserted absolutely: if audition produces a lawful effect on the mind, then it is lawful; it is unlawful if the effect is unlawful, and permissible if the effect is permissible.' "[1]

Musical festivals are chiefly celebrated by the Ṣūfīs of the Chishtī Order. We shall see how the saints of this order came into conflict with the *'ulamā* on the subject of music. At the present time, however, it forms a popular feature of this Order; almost all over India where the Chishtīs are found, such musical festivals are held, lasting till the hour of the early morning prayer. According to Brown it was introduced in the Qādirī Order in A. D. 1170, by Sa'd Shamsu'd-Dīn, the immediate successor of 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī.[2]

The object of such music is to induce a state of ecstasy. Arrived at such a stage, the Ṣūfīs (or darwishes), either individually or collectively, begin to perform *raqṣ*, or dancing. Concerning such performance,

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub* pp. 401, 2.

[2] Rose, *The Darvishes*, p. 286.

Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā, of Delhi, once said: "When a darwish claps his hands in a state of ecstasy, all the sins of his hands are removed, and when he shouts, all his evil desires are destroyed." [1] There are cases on record where Ṣūfīs listening to such music have actually died in a state of excessive ecstasy:

Sama' is chiefly practised on the occasion of '*urs*, i.e. the anniversary of the death of a saint. The word '*urs*, however, literally means "wedding-festivity", so that, as applied to the anniversary of a saint's death, it probably has a subtle reference to the *unitive* stage attained by him in his life time and perfected at the time of his death. This idea is expressed by the famous poet, Ibnu'l-Farīd:

> "My spirit passed the gate which barred my going beyond union (with the Beloved) and soared to where no barrier of union remained." [2]

Thus *Sama'*-music-is thought to be a fitting means whereby to celebrate the death of a saint who is looked upon as having gone to his Beloved, the one whom his soul desired.

The practice of *Sama'* at many of the shrines in India has, in these days, degenerated into a musical festival of a merely secular type. Indeed, these festivals are often attended by common dancing-girls, who perform their *nāch* (nautch) in honour of the saint, so that no vestige of the Ṣūfī ideal of music remains. Such degenerate performances are of course deplored by the better type of Ṣūfīs and non-Ṣūfīs alike.

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[1] Muhammad Mubarak, *Siru-l-Awliya*, p. 463.

[2] See Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism*, p. 237.

There are certain shrines where, at the time of *'urs*, instead of music, the Quran and some devotional prayers are recited throughout the night. Occasionally, sermons are also delivered for the benefit of the crowds. When *'urs* is celebrated in this way it is called *shar'ī'urs*, for the reason that music is disallowed. At the shrine of 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī otherwise known as Dātā Ganj Bakhsh in Lahore, strictly speaking music is not allowed; nevertheless, while the more orthodox devotees assemble within the shrine (not only at the *'urs*, but every Friday) to spend the night in prayer and in reciting the Quran, there are always to be found outside the shrine, others who celebrate the saint's honour with musical festival.

KHIDR AND ILYAS

Belief in the famous saint, Khiḍr, is one of the outstanding characteristics of Ṣūfīsm, and his cult forms a popular feature of saint-worship among Muslims. The name Khiḍr literally means 'sea-green', and is given to this saint because of the common notion that wherever he sits the place turns green. His real name is said to be Abu'l-'Abbās Malkān. There is a legend which makes him to be great-great-grandson of Shem, the son of Noah, and from the same source we learn that by virtue of the water of immortality which he succeeded in drinking, he will live till the end of the world. It is believed that his physical body used to be renewed supernaturally after every five hundred years, but from the time of Muhammad it has been renewed after every one hundred and twenty years. The story goes that in A. D. 1322, during a fight between camel drivers, he was struck by a stone, and he received an injury in his head which caused a swelling for three months.[1]

According to the popular story, Khiḍr and his brother Ilyās were the attendants of Alexander the Great, and when the latter set forth to discover 'the water of life', they accompanied him. At a certain place Khiḍr and Ilyās were separated from the king and succeeded in reaching the fountain of life. After themselves drinking of it they returned to tell the king of their discovery. When Alexander reached the fountain he noticed that the birds on its banks were featherless and without any physical strength. He asked Khiḍr the cause. The latter replied that, in consequence of the fact that they had drunk of 'the living water', they would not die till the Judgment Day, but having partaken of all they were destined to consume both of food and water, they were now doomed to live on in this condition. Whereupon the king refrained from drinking of the fountain lest the same fate should befall him ! On the other hand, Khiḍr and Ilyās, who had already drunk of the water, prayed to God for a special concession to enable them to live on in comfort till the last day.

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[1] cp. Najmu l-Ghani, *op. cit.* 194, 5.

In the biographies of the saints Khiḍr is depicted as the patron of learning. Again and again we read of how Khiḍr changed an ignorant person in one moment into a great scholar. The following story of Khiḍr's patronage of learning is given by Rose, It is said "that Haḍrat Imām Ghazālī was devoted to learning but being very poor could not devote his whole time to it. Once Khiḍr appeard to him in a dream and bade him open his mouth so that Khiḍr might put his saliva in it and so enable him to imbibe all the sciences at once. But Imām Ghazālī said that knowledge so won would be useless because it would have cost him nothing and so he would not appreciate it. Khiḍr gave him some casks of oil to enable him prosecute his studies."[1]

Khiḍr is also believed to know the secret name of God, called by Muslims *Ismu'l-A'ẕam*. 'the Great Name', knowledge of which bestows upon the knower the gift of miracle. It is one of the Khiḍr's tasks to teach this name to the saints of God.

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[1] Rose, *Glossary of Punjab Tribes and Castes*. vol. I. p. 563.

CHAPTER VII

The Introduction of Sufism into India.

The early history of Ṣūfīs in India is most obscure but we may safely assume that Muslims with strong leanings towards mysticism were at work in this country from the time of Islam's earliest contact with it. Historians tell us that it was by way of three open doors—the sea, the land route leading through Persia into Sind, and the Khyber Pass—that Islam entered India.[1] Through these same doors there also must have come Ṣūfīs and wandering Darwīshes, following in the steps of peaceful Arab traders and military commanders.

The writings of Muslim historians and Arab travellers show that Islam first appeared early in South India, on the Malabar coast, chiefly through the influence of Arab traders, who in most cases were also preachers of their new faith. Other channels of influence in those early days were saints, who, as ever, were noted for their wandering life. Tradition points out the tomb of Wahab, a companion of the Prophet, at Canton in China : and that of 'Akāsha, another companion, at port Maḥmūda ; and yet another tomb, again of a companion, named Tamīm Anṣārī, at Mylapur, twelve miles south of Madras.[2]

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[1] cp Titus, *Indian, Islam*, pp. 3-5.

[2] Akbar Shah Khan, *A'ina-i-Haqiqat Numa* ('Ibrat Press, Najibabad) pp. 46, 47.

During the period in which it reached the coast of Malabar, the faith was being preached also in Ceylon, whence it found its way to the Laccadive and Maldive islands. Ibn Baṭūṭa reports that during his visit to Ceylon he found the tombs of several preachers and saints, including those of Shaykh 'Abdu'llah Ḥanif, Shaykh 'Uthmān, and Bābā Ṭāhir.

Through India's second gateway—which leads from Mesopotamia and south Persia through Baluchistan, south of the mountains of Makrān into Sind—Islam made very early contact with India. But no Muslim colony resulted through the entrances made by this gateway until A. D. 712, in which year Sind was invaded by Muhammad b. Qāsim. As early as thirty years after Muhammad's death Mu'āwiya stationed a large army at the frontier town of Kankan, and thus brought Islam to the very gate of India.

The third—the Khyber Pass—through which Turk, Mongol and Afghan forces were led into India, proved to be the main entrance for Muslim ascetics and wandering Darwishes.

Thus, long before the Muslim occupation of any part of this country, Islam came into contact with Indian thought, and was, to some extent, definitely influenced by it, especially in its Ṣūfī doctrines and practices. On the other hand, at a later date, when India was being subjugated by Muslim conquerors, Islam itself exerted a powerful influence on Hindu thought and life. Of the extent of the influence of Indian thought on Islam we shall have occasion to speak later. Regarding the subject of Islam's reaction to Hinduism, however, though this is strictly beyond the scope of the present treatise, yet it can be said in passing, that this was so great that it resulted in the rise of several Hindu sects in which the influence of the new faith is very conspicuous. Dr. Titus mentions no less than eleven of these by name, and gives in addition a brief description of several others, such as, the Pīrzādas, the Chhajjū panthīs, the Ḥusaynī Brahmins and the Shamsīs, in which a "definite mixture of Hindu and Muslim notions and practices prevail."[1]

In spite of the fact that little is known of the early Ṣūfīs there are not wanting extraordinary legends which purport to give detailed accounts of some of them. One such saint was Bābā Ratan, a Hindu, who is said to have visited Mecca twice, and on both occasions to have met Muhammad himself, first in his early life and then again after he had set himself up as a Prophet. Bābā Ratan on the latter occasion, accepted Islam and then returned to India, where he lived on to the incredulously great age of seven hundred years! His name is mentioned by Ibn Ḥajar 'Asqalānī in his *Aṣāba fī ma'rifati ṣ-Ṣaḥāba* and also by a'dh-Dhahabī in his *Tajrīd*. The former ranks him as one of the companions of Muhammad. He is said to have died in A. D. 1234-5, and to have been buried in a place called Tabār Hind, of which nothing is now known.[2] Equally fabulous legends concerning other early saints attach to a shrine which still exists, called Bībī Pākdāmanān (the chaste ladies), in a famous and very ancient graveyard in Lahore. In it are seven graves said to be those of seven women saints belonging to the first century after Hijra. Six of these, tradition tells us, were of the household of 'Alī. Their names were: 1. Ruqīya, known as Bībī Ḥāj, a daughter of 'Alī. 2. Bībī Ḥūr. 3. Bībī Nūr. 4. Bībī Gawhar. 5. Bībī Tāj. 6. Bībī Shāhbāz. The last five are believed to have been the daughters of 'Aqīl, 'Alī's brother. These names are Persian, a fact which need not surprise us, because after the Muslim conquest of Persia most of the ladies belonging to the Persian royal family were given in marriage to 'Alī's sons and relatives.

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[1] See Titus, *Indian Islam*, pp. 172-177.

[2] *Asraru-t-Tasawwuf*, Manzil-i-Naqshbandiyya, Lahore, April, 1925, pp. 10-11

The seventh tomb in the group in Bībī Pākdāmanān is that of Bībī Tannūr (*tandūr*), the lady of the furnace, who was kitchen maid to the above mentioned six ladies. The story runs that when Ḥusayn was besieged on the plain of Karbalā by Yazīd's army in the month of Muḥarram, 680-1 A.D, he asked these women, on the day before the final tragedy, to leave the camp and proceed to India. After much wandering they are said to have reached Lahore. Here the Hindu Raja, on being informed of their presence, sent his son to conduct them into his palace. The women refused to go, but when the Prince insisted that they should accompany him, Tāj Bībī gave him such a look of indignation that he fell unconscious to the ground. On recovering his senses he apologised for his rudeness and accepted Islam. For some time they were allowed to live in peace under the protection of the prince, but afterwards Hindus began to annoy them. At last, vexed beyond endurance, the ladies prayed that the earth might shield them from the sight of these unbelievers, and in answer to their prayer, the earth opened her mouth and mercifully swallowed them. The prince on witnessing this miraculous deliverance, turned hermit and built seven tombs over the spot, himself becoming the *Mujāwir* (guardian).

At the time of accepting Islam the prince had taken the name of 'Abdullah, and later on came to be known as Bābā K͟hākī. He is said to have died in 719-20 A. D. and his tomb also is in Pākdāmanān cemetery. The present guardian of the shrine claims to be one of his descendants. Bībī Tannūr is now regarded as the patron saint of Indian bakers (*Nānbā'i*). When Sultan Maḥmūd G͟haznawī invaded Lahore and heard of Bībī Pākdāmanān he built an enclosure round the shrine and added a porch to it. Later on Akbar also added some more structures to it.

The saint next of whom we shall give a brief account belonged to the early part of the eleventh century A.D. This is Sayyid Sālār Mas'ūd G͟hāzī Miyān or Bāle Miyān, who is still revered all over India as a saint and martyr. We have no really trustworthy account of his life, but are dependent for our knowledge concerning him on certain legends current among his

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[1] Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti.* (Pubd. Watan, Lahore) pp. 312 ff.

devotees, and on a book, *Mirā't-i-Mas'ūdī*, an English translation of which in an abridged form is to be found in Elliot's *History of India* (Vol. ii, pp. 513-49). This work in the words of Elliot is an "historical romance. In it fact and fiction are freely mingled." From such sources we learn a story that runs somewhat as follows: Ghāzī Miyān's father was named Sālār Sāhū, and his mother Sitr-i-Mu'allā (the dignified veiled one), she being a sister of Maḥmūd Ghaznawī.

Ghāzī Miyān is said to have fought from a very early age under his uncle, the Sultan, in his many invasions of India. He is also said to have led several independent expeditions against the Hindus, and finally to have met a martyr's death at Bahraich on 14th, June in 1033 A. D., while still only nineteen years of age!

His reputed tomb in Bahraich, in Uttar Pradesh in India, is the scene of a great annual fair held on the occasion of his *'urs* in which, strange to say large numbers of Hindus join with great enthusiasm. The main feature of his *'urs* is the celebration of his marriage with Zuhra Bībī. The popular explanation of this custom is given as follows: It is said that once a blind girl, Zuhra Bībī, of Radauli in the district Barabanki, had her eye-sight restored on making a pilgrimage to the tomb of Ghāzī Miyān. Out of gratitude she erected a shrine over the saint's tomb and had a grave dug for herself near his. At the age of 18, while yet unmarried she died and was buried in the grave she had prepared. Subsequently her parents and relatives used to go to her tomb every year to celebrate her 'marriage' with the saint. It was not long before the custom became a popular annual event and people began to come from different parts of India to celebrate this mythical 'marriage'. During its celebration decorated poles, mounted with tufts of hair are carried in procession, with music and dancing, to the shrine. Such a pole is said to represent the head of the martyred saint. Another feature in the celebration of his '*urs* that calls for notice is the varied forms in which the devotees make their *nadhar* (offering). One is called 'Zuhra Bībī's dowry', and is presented to the shrine in the form of certain articles such as are generally given in dowry, e. g., pieces of furniture and utensils. Another gift is called *thāl*, which is presented in the form of certain articles and coins, chiefly by merchants and traders. Yet another form of offering is called *qalandarī*, made by throwing coins over the dome of the tomb. If any votary's coin strikes the spire on the summit of the dome it is thought to be a good omen for him.

Ghāzī Miyān's '*urs* is also celebrated in other parts of India, where similar poles mounted with tufts of hair are taken out in processions. Further, there is a class of wandering *faqīrs*, devotees of Ghāzī Miyān, who go by the name of *dafālī faqīr*. They derive their name from *daf*, a tambourine, which they play when begging. Occasionally the saint's tomb is washed, and at such times the dirty water runs off into a tank attached to the shrine. This is, for the most part, crowded with lepers who believe that by bathing in it they can be cured.

In Eastern Bengal, where the fair itself is not held, it is common to find a mud platform dedicated to his name (*G͟hāzī Miyān kā thān*), which is an object of veneration for Muslims and Hindus alike.

In the same century in which G͟hāzī Miyān was carrying on his 'holy war' against the Hindus there arose another saint of far greater historical value for India than any of his predecessors. This was 'Aliu'l-Hujwirī, still venerated in India by the name of Dātā Ganj Bak͟hsh. He was a native of G͟hazna in Afg͟hanistān, and was born some time during the last decade of the tenth or the first decade of the eleventh century, A.D. As a scholar and a writer of several books on Ṣūfism, but more especially as the author of *Kashf al-Maūjḥb*, (the first book ever written on this subject of mysticism in the Persian language) he has justly earned a place of prime importance among the earliest Ṣūfis who came to this country.

'Alīu 'l-Hujwirī was a disciple of Muḥammad b. al-Ḥasan al-K͟huttalī, a pupil of al-Ḥuṣri who, through Shiblī, was spiritually connected with Junayd of Bag͟hdād. He himself speaks of al-K͟huttalī in the following terms: 'He is the teacher whom I follow in Ṣūfism. He was versed in the science of Quranic exegesis and in traditions (*riwāyāt*). In Ṣūfism he held the doctrine of Junayd. He was a pupil of Ḥuṣri and a companion of Sirawani, and was contemporary with Abū Amr Qazwinī and Abu'l-Ḥasan b. Saliba. He was sixty years in sincere retirement from the world, for the most part on Mount Lukam. He displayed many signs and proofs (of saintship), but he did not wear the garb or adopt the external fashions of the Ṣūfīs and he treated the formalists with severity. I never saw any man who inspired me with greater awe than he did."[1]

'Alīu'l-Hujwirī also studied under Abu'l-Qāsim Gurgānī and Khwāja Muẓaffar. The former was a forerunner of the Naqshbandī order. The latter at one time held some civil office, but then, "God opened to him the door of this mystery (Ṣūfism) and bestowed on him the crown of miracles. He spoke eloquently and discoursed with sublimity on annihilation and subsistence (*fanā-u-baqā*)."[2]

'Alīu'l-Hujwirī was a great advocate of celibacy for Ṣūifs, and himself never married. From a passage in *Kashf al-Maḥjūb* it has sometimes been inferred that he had a short and unpleasant experience of married life, but the words in question may be taken to refer to his experience of "falling in love" without going to the length of entering the matrimonial state. The passage runs as follows: "After God had preserved me for eleven years from the dangers of matrimony, it was my destiny to fall in love with the description of a woman whom I had never seen, and during a whole year my passion so absorbed me that my religion was near being ruined, until at last God in His bounty gave protection to my wretched heart and mercifully delivered me."[1] It is in this connection that he speaks of women disparagingly. Thus, "A woman was the cause of the first calamity that overtook Adam in Paradise, and also of the first quarrel that happened in this world, i. e., the quarrel of Abel and Cain. A woman was the cause of the punishment inflicted on two angels (Hārūt and Mārūt); and down to the present day all mischiefs, wordly and religious have been caused by women."[2]

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 166.

[2] *Ibid* p. 170.

Like most of the Ṣūfīs he was a great wanderer. He travelled through the greater part of the Muslim empire of his time; from Syria to Turkistān and from the Indus to the Caspian sea. In all the places he visited he sought out the Ṣūfīs and saints and conversed with them. Speaking of his experience in 'Irāq, where he seems to have settled for a time and contracted debts, he says: "Once, in the territories of 'Irāq, I was restlessly occupied in seeking wealth and squandering it, and I had run largely into debt. Everyone who wanted anything turned to me, and I was troubled and at a loss to know how I could accomplish their desires. An eminent person wrote to me as follows: 'Beware lest you distract your mind from God by satisfying the wishes of those whose minds are engrossed in vanity. If you find anyone whose mind is nobler than your own, you may justly distract your mind in order to give peace to his. Otherwise, do not distract yourself, since God is sufficient for

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 364.
[2] *Ibid*, p. 364.

His servants. These words brought me instant relief."[1]

Finally 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī came to Lahore, where he lived till he died in 1063 or 1071 A. D. In *Fuwā'idu'l-Fuwād*, which is a compilation of the sayings of Niẕāmu, d-Dīn Awliyā of Delhi (d. 1325 A. D.), an account of 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī's coming to Lahore is given. According to the statement of this book, 'Alīu 'l-Hujwirī was asked by his *pīr* to go to Lahore and settle there. At first he was unwilling and tried to excuse himself on the ground that Shaykh Ḥasan Zanjānī, a fellow disciple of his was already there. But when his *pīr* insisted on his going to Lahore he obeyed the order. When at length he reached the city, he discovered to his surprise that Ḥasan Zanjānī had just died and the people, at the moment, were conveying his body away for burial.[2] It is said that the saint chose for his place of residence in the city the spot on which his shrine now stands.

Certain Ṣūfīs believe that, though dead, 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī continued to hold supreme authority over the saints of India, and that no new saint entered the country without first obtaining permission from his spirit. Thus it was that saints who subsequently came to India from outside first paid a visit to his shrine.

It was not until about a century after his death the saint came to be known by the title of Dātā Ganj Bakhsh. This is said to have been bestowed upon him by Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn of Ajmer. The story runs that Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn on his arrival in India spent some time in meditation at the tomb of 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī. At the conclusion of his vigil and before proceeding to Ajmer, he stood facing the tomb and gave expression to the gratitude he felt for benefits he received from the spirit of the saint. It was then that he repeated the following lines, in which the title was used for the first time :

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 345.

[2] *Fuwa'idu 'l-Fuwad*.

> Thou art the Ganj Bakhsh (the munificent one) of
> both worlds,
> Thou art the perfect *pīr* for perfect saints
> And the guide for those yet imperfect.

The word *dātā*—a common title for mendicants in India—is a Hindi equivalent of Ganj Bakhsh, and was later added to his name by Indian Muslims.

The chief characteristics of 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī's teaching on Ṣūfīsm have been set out in the following manner by Professor Nicholson :

"Although he was a Sunnī and a Ḥanafite, al-Hujwirī, like many Ṣūfīs before and after him, managed to reconcile his theology with an advanced type of mysticism in which the theory of 'annihilation' (*fanā*) holds a dominant place, but he scarcely goes to such extreme lengths as would justify us in calling him a pantheist. He strenuously resists and pronounces heretical the doctrine that human personality can be merged and extinguished in the being of God. He compares annihilation to burning by fire, which transmutes the quality of all things to its own quality, but leaves their essence unchanged. He agrees with his spiritual director, al-Khuttalī, in adopting the theory of Junayd that 'sobriety' in the mystical acceptance of the term is preferable to 'intoxication.' He warns his readers often and emphatically that no Ṣūfīs, not even those who attained the highest degree of holiness, are exempt from the obligation of obeying the religious law. In other points, such as the excitation of ecstasy by music and singing, and the use of erotic symbolism in poetry, his judgment is more or less cautious. He defends al-Ḥallāj from the charge of being a magician, and asserts that his sayings are pantheistic only in appearance, but condemns his doctrines as unsound. It is clear that he is anxious to represent Ṣūfīsm as the true interpretation of Islam, and it is equally certain that the interpretation is incompatible with the text."[1]

'Alīu 'l-Hujwirī's tomb may still be seen in Lahore near the Bhati gate. It has been an object of veneration and a place of pilgrimage for the best part of 900 years. All sorts and conditions of men, kings and beggars, have resorted to it through the centuries seeking spiritual and temporal blessings. Most of the Muslim invaders and wandering Darwishes on entering the land made a point of paying their homage at his shrine.

At one end of the shrine is a large corridor, where pious men, sometimes women also ; recite the Quran daily. Copies of the sacred volume are always at hand for those who care to use them. Every Thursday night a vigil is kept by his devotees, who gather round the tomb, many of them spending the night in reading the Quran and offering prayers. Attached to the shrine is a small library containing various editions of the Quran. Some of these were evidently written by expert Indian caligraphers. The volumes vary greatly in size, the largest being three feet in length.

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*, Introduction, pp. xx, xxi.

CHAPTER VIII

The Relation of Súfism to Indian Thought.

The Ṣūfīs claim that their doctrines are derived solely from the Quran and the Traditions, but a closer examination of Ṣūfīsm reveals the fact that several extraneous influences have also been probably at work in its development. For instance, in its earlier forms of asceticism it undoubtedly followed the mode of life of Christian ascetics; and again in its speculative reasoning it bears traces of the influence of the teaching of Plotinus, whom the Arabs called a'sh-Shaykhu 'l-Yūnānī, 'the Greek Master'. Further, it will be noticed that in some of its doctrinal features and more practical teaching it bears a close resemblance to Indian thought. It is with the last named element that we are more particularly concerned at present.

Probably no one will deny that Indian thought has influenced Ṣūfīsm to some extent, but when we seek to determine what those elements are which have entered into it from this source we find considerable diversity of opinion. For ourselves, we will endeavour, first, to demonstrate that it was reasonable for Hinduism to exert such influence and then content ourselves by giving certain parallel doctrines in Ṣūfīsm and Hinduism.

In speaking of the early contact of Islam with India, reference has been made to the occupation of the territory between Makrān and Kankan by the Arab army in 672 A.D. This brought Islam to the very gate of India. Much closer contact, however, was made in the eighth century when Sind was conquered by the Abbasid Khalīfas and formed an outlying province of the Muslim empire. During the Caliphate of Manṣūr, Hārūn and Mā'mūn, definite steps were taken to understand Indian thought. In the reign of Manṣūr embassies of the *pandits* came from Sind and presented to him *Brahmasiddhanta* and *Khandakhadyaka*, the famous treatises on astronomy by Brahma Gupta which were promptly translated into Arabic and widely used by the Arabs. Later, during the reign of Khalīfa Hārūnu'r-Rashīd, elements of Indian thought found their way more definitely and on a wider scale into Arabic literature. At this period the great patron of Hindu learning at the court of the Khalīfa was the ministerial family, Barmak. This name is believed to be but the Arabic form of the Indian title *Paramak*, which itself means the 'superior' of *Vihara* (i.e. Buddhist monastery). The family had come from Balkh, where an ancestor of theirs was an official in a Buddhist temple, Nava Vihara.[1] The influence of the Barmak family in the court of Hārūn is well known. Under its patronage Arab scholars were sent to India to study Indian thought; and Indian *pandits* were invited to the court at Baghdād to expound Hindu learning. Sanskrit books on a variety of subjects, such as medicine, astrology, philosophy, etc. were translated into Arabic

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[1] cp. *Alberuni's India*, edited by E. Sachan. p. xxxi.

The contact thus established with India continued for centuries till at last the Muslims succeeded in founding an empire "not only of kings and rulers.........but an empire of the heart reared upon the foundations of a new religious faith".[1]

In the eleventh century, before the founding of the Muslim empire in India, we find Al-Muwaffiq and Al-Berūnī coming to India for the purposes of studying Indian thought.[2] The latter's work on India, gives an account of the religion, philosophy, literature, geography, chronology, astronomy, customs, laws and astrology of the country in about 1030 A. D. It was Al-Berūnī who made the first reliable translation from Sanskrit into Arabic of the *Sānkhya* by Kapila and the *Yoga Sūtra* by Patanjalī, and who introduced his fellow Muslims to the *Bhagvadgīta*.

Later still, when Muslims had at length established their power in the country, we find clear instances of attempts on the part of Ṣūfīs to study Hindu idolatry and polytheism with calm minds, free from racial prejudice. In view of the fact that the political relations between polytheist Hindus and monotheist Muslims have not always been happy it is amazing to come across such instances. Akbar's conciliatory policy towards Hindus and his attempts to persuade his Muslim subjects to act towards them in like manner, are well known. His great grandson Dārā Shikoh, about whom more will be said later, made earnest attempts to reconcile Islam and Hinduism. He gave himself up to the task of acquiring knowledge about the religion and philosophy of the Hindus, and for this purpose, he not only read and translated Sanskrit books into Persian but also sought the company of Hindu ascetics. The books which he translated include the *Rāmāyana*, the *Gīta*, the *Upanishads* and *Yogavashista*. The *Upanishads* were translated under the title of *Sirr-i-Akbar*, or the Great Mystery, and for this he wrote a preface. which commences with the conventional Hindu formula, '*Om Shri Ganesha Namoh.*' He calls the opening chapter of the Quran 'Omu'l-Quran',[1] to make it correspond with the Hindu formula 'Om'. Dāra Shikoh in the preface to his translation of the *Upanishads* confesses that he has an intense thirst for knowledge, and that as he studied the Quran and the other books on Ṣūfīsm there arose doubts in his mind which he failed to satisfy even by having recourse to gnostics and pious men, He studied the Torah, Zabūr, Injīl and other sacred books, but their meaning was unintelligible to him. At last he discovered that the subject of monotheism was very plainly explained in the *Vedas* and the *Upanishads*. The latter he found to be a "mine of monotheism,"[2] He collected all the *Upanishads* which he could find and "Translated them without subtraction or addition, or selfish motive, faithfully and word for word." [1] In them he found fully explained all the secrets for which he had searched so long. He calls the collection of the *Upansihads* the "earliest of the heavenly books" and "the spring of monotheistic streams". He found that it has been mentioned in the Quran in the following verse. "This is the honourable Quran, in the preserved book, let none touch it but the purified. It is a revelation from the Lord of the worlds." According to Dārā Shikoh 'the honourable Quran' which was hidden and which none but the clean could comprehend was no other than *Upanishads!* He said that as the *Upanishads* meant 'the secret to be concealed' it was certain that by the secret book, this ancient book was meant. "He knew from it what he had not known, and understood from it what he had not understood." [2]

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[1] Titus. *Indian Islam*, p. 3.

[2] *Alberuni's India*, Introduction, p. xxxii.

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[1] The title of the Chapter of the Quran is *Sura Fatiha*, but it is also called *Ummu'l-Quran*, the mother of the Quran.

[2] Maulvi Abdu'l-Wali, Khan Sahib; Hinduism according to Muslim Sufis, in *Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol xix, 1923, No. 7. p. 243.

Dārā Shikoh also wrote *Majma'ul-Baḥrayn*, the 'meeting of the two seas,' to show that between Hindu and Muslim mysticism there exist only verbal differences. This treatise has recently been published by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. The translator in his preface says, "It is the last original work of Dārā Shikoh and according to one authority it was this very work which brought about his death. It is said that this tract was laid before the ecclesiasts who declared its author a heretic and sentenced him to death, which was faithfully carried out by his over-zealous brother, Aurangzeb."

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 243.

[2] *Ibid*, p. 244.

Such a liberal attitude towards Hinduism was not confined to Akbar and Prince Dārā Shikoh, nor was it limited to their age. Among the Ṣūfīs of India generally it has been common to find such an extreme liberality of attitude towards Hinduism as would shock orthodox Muslims. For example, we come across a further instance of such liberal attitude in the teaching of Mirzā Jān-i-Jānān Maẕhar, a saint of great reputation. This man was born in 1701 A.D. of a family that had had intimate connection with the Moghal emperor. His father, Mirzā Jān passed his days in the service of Aurangzeb, and at length forsook the world and joined the Qādirī order. His son, Mirzā Jān-i-Jānān, is said to have been a great scholar in his day, and had received the 'robe of permission' (to make disciples) in three of the religious orders, *viz.*, Qādiriyya, Chishtiyya, and Naqshbandiyya.

Mirzā Jān-i-Jānān's opinion concerning Hinduism, which is found in some of his letters, is given by Maulvī 'Abdu'l-Walī Khān Sāḥib, in his article, *Hinduism according to Muslim Ṣūfīs*, from which we have already quoted in reference to Dārā Shikoh's attitude towards Hinduism. Mirzā Jān-i-Jānān in one of his letters addressed to a certain disciple, writes about Hinduism as follows: "You should know that it appears from the ancient book of the Indians that the divine Mercy, in the beginning of the creation of human species, sent a Book, named the *Bed* (*Veda*) which is in four parts, in order to regulate the duties of this as well as the next world, containing the news of the past and future, through an angel or divine spirit by the name of Bramha (Brahma), who is omnipotent and outside the creation of the universe." Continuing his letter he writes further, "It ought to be noted that according to the holy verse (of the Quran): 'And there is not a people but a warner has gone among them,' and also: 'And every nation had an apostle,' and other verses, there were prophets also in the countries of Hindustan, on whom be peace, and their account is contained in the books of the Hindus. From their signs, it is apparent that they had attained high and perfect position. The Universal Divine Mercy did not leave out, for the good of His creatures, even this extensive country."

The following anecdote, which occurs in the biography of Mirza Jān-i-Jānān, is yet another remarkable illustration of the attitude of some Ṣūfīs towards Hinduism. "A man mentioned a dream which he had dreamed of to Ḥājī Muḥammad Afḍal, a teacher of the Mirzā Ṣāḥib. He said: 'I dreamed a field full of fire. Kishan (Krishna) was in the fire, and Rām Chandar (Rāma Chandra), on the border of the fire.' A man who was present gave his opinion that as Krishna and Rāma Chandra were the leaders of the infidels, they were being punished in Hell-fire. Mirzā Jān-i-Jānān Maẕhar, who was present, said: 'This dream has another interpretation.' He said: 'It is improper to charge particular persons with being infidel, unless their *kufr* or infidelity were proved by the canon of Islamic

Law. The Book and Sunnat (the Quran and Islamic Law) are silent about these two persons. It is evident from the Quranic verse: 'There is no village where there was no warner, that there were *bashir* and *nadhīr* (warner and giver of good news) among those people. Under the circumstance it is probable that they (Krishna and Rāma) were saints or prophets. Rām Chandar having been in the beginning of the creation of the genii—when people lived long and were powerful —used to train the men of his time to the doctrine of the right path (*nisbat-i-sulūk*); while Kishan, who was the last of their eminent men—when compared with the past, men's ages were shorter, and strength less—used to preach to his people the (advanced) doctrine of passion *nisbat-i-jadhabī*. The mention of song and music, in which he indulged greatly, is a proof of his excessive (Divine) love, and ecstasy for passion. The fire of his excessive love and ecstasy appeared as a field of fire. Kishan who was immersed in the state of love appeared in the centre of that fire, and Rām Chander, who was in the path of *sulūk* (as a beginner) was seen at the end of it. And God knows best.' Ḥaḍrat Ḥājī Afḍal liked the interpretation very much and was greatly impressed by it."[1]

We now proceed to give a few illustrations of such features in Ṣūfism as bear a close resemblance to the teaching of Hinduism. It must be understood that the following comparison of the Hindu philosophy and the Ṣūfī teaching is offered just to suggest parallels between their doctrines. The problem of sources is a very intricate one and it cannot be even stated within the compass of a short chapter, nor it is the purpose of this book.

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[1] *Ibid*, p. 241.

1. THE ṢUFI *PIR* AND THE HINDU *GURU*.

Starting with the practical life of a Ṣūfī, at the very outset the devotion of *murīd* (disciple) to his *pīr* (spiritual preceptor) presents a striking similarity to the devotions of a *chela* to his *guru*. As no one can become a Ṣūfī without the help of a *pīr* so it has been the custom among the Hindus from time immemorial that a person desirous of leading a religious life must seek a *guru* for himself. For instance, the Hindu Scriptures say "The supreme mystery in the Vedanta ....should be given to one who has the highest devotion (*bhakti*) for God, and for his spiritual teacher (*guru*) even as for God"[1] "For the sake of this knowledge (of Brahman) let him go, fuel in hand to a spiritual teacher (*guru*) who is learned in the scriptures and established on Brahman."[2]

The similar devotion to a *guru* is advocated in the latter development of Hinduism, for instance in Tulsī Dās's *Rāmāyana* (written about 1574 A. D.) we read "The *guru* can save from the Brahmana's anger, but if the *guru* himself be wroth, there is no one in the world that can save."[3]

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[1] *Svetasvatara Upanishad*, 6;23.

[2] *Mundaka Upanishad*, 1, 2, 12.

[3] I. *Doha*. 169.

Dr. Urquhart makes the following observation on the place of a *guru* in Hinduism: "The dramatic setting of the *Upanishads* is largely constituted by the search for a teacher who will reveal the deepest mysteries; and, when he has been found, unbounded devotion and the most minute practical service is demanded of the pupil."[1]

Further, the following statemet of Venkataramana a recent Hindu writer, in reference to the highest knowledge corresponds to what is held concerning the authority of a Shaykh as a spiritual authority in Ṣūfism; "The sole source of this knowledge is a clear and accurate understanding of the Vedic text, 'That thou art'; but, however much one may analyse its meaning by means of his own reason or with the aid of commentaries, the realization of the self cannot take place unless the Vedic text in question reaches the student through the mouth of a spiritual teacher."[2] Dr. Urquhart expounding this authority of a *guru* writes: "And in course of the development and as a result of it, devotion to truth and devotion to the *guru* become almost synonymous."[3] The latter comes to be regarded as well advanced on the way to edification; his personal authority is thus enhanced, and the principle of authority becomes more and more deeply engrained in the mental attitude of the Indian seeker after truth."

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[1] Urquhart, *The Vedanta and Modern Thought*, p. 80.

[2] Urquhart, *op. cit.* pp. 80, 81.

[3] cp. *fana fi'sh-Shaykh.*

It will be noticed that these statements are in close agreement with what we have already said about the relation of the *murīd* to his *shaykh*.

2. ṢUFI SPECULATION CONCERNING GOD COMPARED WITH THE TEACHING OF HINDU PHILOSOPHY ABOUT BRAHMAN

Similarity between the Ṣūfī conception of God and Hindu teaching about Brahman is very striking. It not only exists in the general trend of the pantheistic thought in both but also, we shall see, in some of the details of the exposition of their respective doctrines. We have seen that the Ṣūfīs in their conception of God are divided into Wujūdī (monistic) and Shuhūdī (moderate type of pantheistic) schools of thought.

These correspond to the doctrine of Hindu teachers in their speculation concerning Brahman, who, likewise, are either upholders of Advaita (non-dualism) or Vishistadvaita (modified non-dualism).

i. *WAHDATU'L-WUJUDIYYA* AND THE *ADVAITA* PHILOSOPHY OF HINDUIM

Several passages may be cited from Ṣūfī authorities and the Hindu Scriptures to demonstrate the similarity in their doctrines. For instance some passages of Jīlī's *Insānu'l-Kāmil* will be found in close agreement with the teaching of Hindu sacred writings. Thus, "His manifestation interpenetrates all existences and he manifests his perfection in each atom and particle of the Universe. He is not multiple by the multiplicity of the manifestations but he is one in the totality of manifestations, solely by what his noble Essence necessitates in its very nature, and so on, from the attributes of perfection to his manifestation in every atom of existence; (he is one in them all). The whole group is distinguished by the permeating (one) Existence in the aggregate of all existences. And the mystery of this permeation is that he created the Universe out of himself. And he is not divided into parts but everything in the Universe is by reason of his perfection and has the name of creatureliness as a loan. Not, as some suppose, that it is the divine attributes which are lent to the creature...........for that which is lent is nothing but the relation of creaturely existence to the attributes and verily Creative Existence is the source of this relation. Creative Truth lent his Ideal Prototypes (*ḥaqā'iq*) the name of creatureliness in order that the mysteries of Divinity and their necessary counterparts might be made manifest. And Creative Truth is the substance (*hayula*) of the Universe. And God said 'We have not created the Heaven and the Earth...........except by Creative Truth (*Ḥaqq*).' The Universe is like ice, and God, the Magnified and Exalted, is the water which is the origin of this ice. The name 'ice' is lent to that frozen thing and the name 'water' is the right name for it."[1] In one of the *Upanishads* similar ideas may be noted

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[1] *Insanu'l-Kamil*, Vol., I. p. 28.

Just as by one piece of clay everything made of clay may be known—the modification is merely a verbal distinction, a name; the reality is just clay. Just as by one copper ornament everything made of copper may be known—the modification is merely a verbal distinction, a name; the reality is just copper. Just as by one pair of nail scissors everything made of iron may be known—the modification is merely a verbal distinction, a name; the reality is just iron—so is this teaching."[1]

The whole of this section of the *Upanishad* is in form of a dialogue between father and son. The father, Uddalaka, explains to his son, Svetaketu, how everything that exists has sprung from the primary unitary Being.

ii. THE ṢUFI DOCTRINE OF *SHUHUDIYYA* COMPARED WITH THE *VISHISTADVAITA* OF RĀMANUJA AND *NISHPRAPANCA* IDEAL.

Like the Shuhūdī doctrine of the Ṣūfīs, the Vishistadvaita of Rāmanuja is a modified non-dualism. Rāmunja in contradistinction to the favourite assertion of the monists that "there is no diversity" cognises Brahman as carrying "multiplicity within himself", and also admits His attributes to be real. Further he acknowledges the reality of creation as well as that of the pluralistic universe. To him God is not a mere totality of the universe or of persons, but a person who must not be confused with individual souls and non-intelligent matter. God, on the one hand, is the transcendental Absolute existing before and beyond the universe, and on the other, He is the immanent ground of the world.

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[1] *Chhandogya Upanishad,* VI. 1. 4-6.

Rāmanuja's view of the relation of the soul to God will also be found to bear an interesting resemblance to the teaching of Ṣūfism on the subject. The following passage has often been quoted as summing up the former: "The soul is created by Brahman, is controlled by it, is its body, is subservient to it, is supposed by it, is reduced to the subtle condition by it (i. e. in the world's state of dissolution) is a worshipper of it, and depends on its grace for its welfare."[1]

The goal of the individual soul, according to the teaching of Rāmanuja is to release itself from the bondage *karma* and then to reach the "abode of Brahman" and to exist eternally having permanent consciousness of the highest Brahman. This is not much different from the Ṣūfī goal of *fanā fi'l-lāh wa baqā bi'l-lāh*, 'the annihilation and the subsistence in God'. The means to attain this end according to Hindu teaching are *Bhakti* and *Vidya*, the former is sometimes translated technically as "remembrance" and the latter as "meditation". Both of these may be compared with the Ṣūfī *dhikr* and *murāqaba*.

Striking similarity may also be noticed when the Shuhūdī doctrine is compared with the Upanishadic conception of God called *Nishprapanca* Ideal, which is the source of the Vishistadvaita doctrine. The Nishprapanca doctrine is described by Professor Hiryana in the following words: "It aims at unity and yet clings to the double notion of God and nature. To arrive at true unity, one only of these two should be retained. If it is the notion of nature that is retained, there will be no God apart from the world. This outcome of the pantheistic tendency, viz., viewing the unity of the world as itself the Absolute, does not figure very much in the Upanishads, probably because it tends towards naturalism, which, though not wholly unfamiliar to them, is widely removed from their prevailing spirit. If, on the other hand, it is the notion of God, that is selected for retention in preference to that of nature, the world of common experience with all its variety will cease to exist apart from God. That is precisely the acosmic conception; only the theistic term is here replaced by the philosophic one of Brahman."[1]

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[1] Sukhtankar's *Teaching of Vedanta according to Ramanuja;* quoted in Macnicol: *Indian Theism* p. 104.

3. THE ṢUFI DOCTRINE OF *TANAZZULAT* AND THE HINDU PHILOSOPHY OF 'MODIFICATIONS' OF BRAHMAN

The Ṣūfī statement about God's existence in the state of al-'Ama, as a mere Essence devoid of all qualities and relations corresponds to the Hindu conception of Brahman in the state of *nirguna*, devoid of all *gunas*, attributes. The Hindu theologians have described this *nirguna* Brahman as void—without consciousness, without activity,—a characterless nothing." This word, *nirguna*, is used as an attribute of God in *Svetāsvatra Upanishad:*

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[1] Hiryana. *Outlines of Indian Philosophy*, p. 61.

> The one God, hidden in all things,
>
> All-prevailing, the Inner Soul of all things,
>
> The overseer of deeds (*karman*) in all things abiding.
>
> The witness, the sole thinker, devoid of qualities (*nirguna*).[1]

Svetakata admits the existence of a Supreme Brahman, who is undefinable, above the changing world and free from change, becoming and causality, but who is the ground of the existence of the whole universe. He is described as "without part, without activity, tranquil, irreproachable, spotless, the highest bridge of immortality, like a fire with fuel burned."[2]

The Hindu teaching concerning Brahman in relation to the creation of the universe, as interpreted by certain schools, is in close correspondence to the Ṣūfī teaching on the subject and bears a close resemblance to the doctrine of *tanazzulāt*. According to the Hindu doctrine, "individualisation" is the principle of creation. It is this cosmic principle which gives rise to *nāmarūpa*, "name-and-form." In the *Upanishads* the term *nāmarūpa* is used to indicate individuality. For instance we read in the *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishda*: "In the beginning of this world was Soul alone in the form of a Person. Looking around he saw nothing else than himself......

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[1] 6: 12.

[2] 6: 19.

At that time the world was undifferentiated. It became differentiated just by name and form."[1]

According to the teaching of Shankara "The creation is the gradual manifestations of diverse *samanyas* with the *visheshas* produced from them." The term *vsamanyas* stands for the causal reality; and the term *visheshas* stands for its effects or qualities. Further Shankara says: "There are in the world diverse *samanyas* with their *visheshas*,—both sentient and insentient. All these *samanyas*, in their graduated series, are included and comprehended in one great *samanyas*, i. e., in Brahma's nature or *swarupa*."[2]

Professor Kokileswar Sastri explaining Shankara's teaching on creation says: "The created elements have been evolved from the 'nature' of Brahma for its own realisation. Brahma has not sundered itself into these elements; it has not actually passed into, or been converted into, these elements and thereby has become something *other than* its own nature. It expresses itself through these. We have therefore no right to separate these from it and take them as 'something' distinct and complete in themselves.........The evolving changes—the diversities of emerging *nāmarūpa*—are not something other than Brahma's nature, but they are really the further and further revelations of this nature."[3]

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[1] I. 4: 1, 7.

[2] *Vendanta Bhasya,* quoted in Kokileswar Sastri, *Advaita Philosophy*, p. 35.

[3] Kokileswar Sastri, *op. cit.* p. 23.

4. THE *LAṬA'IF* OF ṢUFI DOCTRINE AND THE *CHAKRAS* OF HINDU YOGA

The theory of *laṭāif* and their position as described in the human body resemble, to some extent, the *Chakras* as detailed in the Yoga system of physiology. The latter system speaks of the human organism consisting of the physical body, the vital dynamism, the psychic principles and the *purusa.* The *purusa* is said to be hidden behind the veils of corruptible flesh and restless mind.

The system of physiology as developed by the Yoga philosophy relates to *nādīs*, infinitely small nerves, which traverse the body. "The spinal column contains three *yognādis* of special significance, namely, *idā*, *pingalā*, and *susumnā.* The last is the chief of them. To the right of it is *pingalā* and to its left *idā.* This *nādī* (i.e. *susumnā*) has six subtle centres called *padmas* or *chakras*, invisible to our senses, that could be experienced through the eyes of Yoga."[1]

The *chakras* are as follows:

1. *Sahasrara*, lies within the cerebral region,
2. *Ajna*, situated in pineal gland,
3. *Visuddhi*, is situated in larynx,
4. *Anahata*, is located in the heart,
5. *Manipura*, is situated in the stomach
6. *Mūladhāra*, is said to be located in the navel.

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[1] Sir Radha Krishnan, *The History of Indian Philosophy*, Vol.—II, p. 352 (note.)

Besides these is also a *Kundalīnī*, 'a curled-up one' lying dormant at the base of the spine. The *Kundalīnī* symbolises mystic illumination. When she is asleep the devotee's mind is in an unawakened condition. When she has darted upwards and reached the *Sahasra chakra*, the mystic has reached full consciousness and has merged it in the Divine.

5. THE ṢUFI *FANA* COMPARED WITH THE BUDDHISTIC *NIRVANA* AND THE UPANISHADIC *MOKSA*.

The doctrine of *nirvana* has been variously interpreted, but as at the present moment we are concerned not as much with the doctrine itself as with a comparative study of some of its features with those of *fanā*, we proceed to give a brief account of its leading characteristics.

The word *nirvana*, or its Pali from *nibbana*, literally means 'blowing out' or 'cooling' and is commonly translated as 'annihilation'. According to Professor Das Gupta it is the final extinction of sorrow which takes place as the natural result of the destruction of desires. The following passages are often quoted from the Buddhist Scriptures to describe *nirvana*:

"He whose senses have become tranquil, like a horse well broken-in by the driver; who is free from pride and the lust of the flesh, and the lust of existence, and the defilement of ignorance—him even the gods envy. Such a one whose conduct is right, remains like the broad earth, unvexed; like the pillar of the city gate; like a pellucid lake, unruffled. For such there are no more births. Tanquil is the mind, tranquil the words and deeds of him who is thus tranquilized and made free by wisdom."[1] "They who by steadfast mind have become except from evil desire, and well-trained in the teachings of Gautama; they having obtained the fruit of the fourth Path, and immersed themselves in that ambrosia, have received without price, and are in the enjoyment of *nirvana.* Their old *ḳarma* is exhausted, no new *karma* is being produced; their hearts are free from the longing after future life; the cause of their existence being destroyed, and no new yearnings springing up within them, they the wise, are extinguished like this lamp."[2] "That mendicant conducts himself well, who has conquered error by means of insight, from whose eyes the veil of error has been removed, who is well-trained in religion; and, who free from yearning, and skilled in the knowledge of, has attained unto, nirvana."[3]

From such passages Professor Rhys Davids infers that the nirvana, which means simply going out, extinction, cannot be the extinction of a soul. He says: "*It is the extinction of that sinful, grasping condition of mind and heart, which would otherwise, according to the great mystery of karma, be the cause of renewed individual existence.* That extinction is to be brought about by, and runs parallel with, the growth of the opposite condition of mind and heart ; and it is completed when that opposite condition is reached. Nirvana is therefore the same thing as a *sinless, calm state of mind* ; and if translated at all, may best, perhaps, be rendered 'holiness'—holiness, that is, in the Buddhist sense, perfect peace, goodness, and wisdom."[1]

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[1] *Dhammapada*, 90, 94-96.

[2] *Ratana Sutta*, 7, 14.

[3] *Sammaparibbajaniya Sutta*, 14.

Professor De la Vallee Poussin and Mr. Schrader, as pointed by Professor Das Gupta, hold *nirvana* to be positive. In the opinion of the former it has been represented sometime in the Pali text as a happy state, as pure annihilation, as an inconceivable existence or as a changeless state."[2] Mr. Schrader says that : "The Buddha held that those who sought to become identified after death with the soul of the world as infinite space (*akasa*) or consciousness (*vinnana*) attained to a state in which they had a corresponding feeling of infiniteness without having really lost their individuality."[3]

This interpretation, as Professor Das Gupta observes, is "very new and quite against the spirit of the Buddhistic text." He writes, "Whether we exist in some form eternally or do not exist is not a proper Buddhistic question, for it is a heresy to think of a Tathagata as existing eternally (*sasvata*) or not-existing

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[1] *Buddhism*, pp. 111, 112.

[2] Professor De la Vallee Poussin's article in the E.R.E. on Niravna.

[3] Mr. Schrader's article in Pali Text Society Journal, 1905 on Nibbana, quoted in Professor Das Gupta, *A History of Indian* Philosophy Vol. I, p. 109.

(*asasvata*) or whether he is existing as well as not existing or whether he is neither existing nor non-existing. Any one who seeks to discuss whether Nibbana is either positive and eternal state or mere state of non-existence or annihilation, takes a view which has been discarded in Buddhism as heretical."[1]

Thus described, *nirvana* with negative implications only, can hardly be akin to the Ṣūfī doctrine of *fanā wa baqā.* "annihilation and subsistence".

FANA AND *MOKSA*

Moksa literally means release, and is used in the *Upanishads* to denote the release of the individual soul from bondage to the sensuous, selfish and finite existence. It runs almost parallel to the Ṣūfī doctrine of *fanā wa baqā* 'annihilation and subsistence'. Many passages can be quoted to demonstrate the truth of this statement. For instance Mundaka Upanishad says:

"As the flowing rivers in the ocean
Disappear, quitting name and form,
So the knower, being liberated from name and form,
Goes unto the Heavenly Person, higher than the high."[2]

The same *Upanishad* contains the following passage: "The mystic syllable *Om* (*pravana*) is the bow. The arrow is the soul (*atman*).

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[1] Professor Das Gupta, A History of Indian Philosophy, Vol. I, p. 109.

[2] iii, 2:8.

By the undistracted man It is to be penetrated,

One should come to be in It, as the arrow in the mark (i.e. Brahma)."[1]

In the same *Upanishad* we read: "All these become one in the highest imperishable Brahma."[2] In the *Brihadarnyaka Upanishad* we come across the following simile of the union with the Divine. Yajanavalkya, the greatest thinker of the age of the *Upanishads*, expounding the state of *Moksa*, says; "As a man, when in the embrace of the beloved wife, knows nothing within or without, so this person, when in the embrace of the intelligent soul, knows nothing within or without."[3] Verily, that is his (true) form in which his desire is satisfied, in which the Soul is his desire, in which he is without desire and without sorrow."[4]

This state is described in *Mundaka* to be companionship with God.

"They who have ascertained the meaning of the *Vedanta* knowledge,

Ascetics, with natures purified through the application of renunciation,

They in the Brahma-worlds at the end of time

Are all liberated beyond death."[5]

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[1] ii, 2:3.

[2] iii, 2, 7.

[3] Professor Macnicol says: "This symbol of union is the hall-mark of mysticism in every country and every age." *Indian Theism.* p. 58.

[4] iv, 3, 21.

[5] iii, 2:6.

The same *Upanishad* teaches that liberated soul attains to absolute likeness with God;

"When a seer sees the brilliant
Maker, Lord, Person, the Brahma-source
Then, being a knower shaking off good and evil
Stainless, he attains supreme identity with him."[1]

From these passages it appears that absorption in Brahma is not complete annihilation, but that it indicates "the preservation at the same time in a subtle sense of conscious personality."[2] On the other hand it cannot be denied that there are many passages in the *Upanishads* which teach the complete absorption in Brahma with such absoluteness that self is "completely merged and indistinguishably lost."[3]

These two phases of the doctrine of liberation as taught in the *Upanishads* may be compared with the negative and positive aspects of *fana.* For instance, the following sayings express the 'negative' aspects of the absorption in Brahman:

"He becomes merged in the supreme imperishable Soul."[4]

"As a lump of salt which is thrown into the water dissolves and cannot be gathered up again, but whenever water is drawn, it is salty, so truly is it with this great being, the endless, the unlimited, the fulness of knowledge. Arising out of these elements, into them also one vanishes away. There is no consciousness after death."[1]

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[1] ii, 1:3

[2] Macnicol, *Indian Theism*, p. 58.

[3] Thibant, in *Sacred Book of the East*, XXXIV. p. cxxi, quoted in Macnicol. *op. cit.* p. 57.

[4] *Mundaka*, iii 2:7.

"Brahma-knowers become merged in Brahman."[2]

Other passages illustrating the Positive aspect of liberation have already been quoted. The following shows that the liberated soul in union with the Universal Soul attains unhampered desire:

"He who knows this. on departing from this world, proceeding on to that self which consists of food, proceeding on to that self which consists of breath, proceeding on to that self which consists of mind, proceeding on to that self which consists of understanding, proceeding on to that self which consists of bliss, goes up and down these worlds, eating what he desires, assuming what form he desires. He sits singing this chant:

'Oh, wonderful! Oh, wonderful! Oh, wonderful!
I am food! I am food! I am food!
I am food-eater! I am food-eater! I am food-eater!
I am fame-maker! I am fame-maker! I am fame-maker!
I am the first-born of the world-order (*rita*)
Earlier than the gods, in the navel of immortality!
Who gives me away, he indeed has aided me!
I, who am food, eat the eater of food!
I have overcome the whole world!"[3]

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[1] *Brihadaranyaka*, iv, 5: 13. cp. ii, 4: 13.

[2] *Svetastra*, 1: 7

[3] *Taittiriya*, iii, 10: 5, 6.

This song of the liberated soul is remarkable as it indicates that it has an active existence. It should be compared with Jalālu'd-Din's poem quoted on p. 86.

Before we conclude this chapter the opinions of two famous exponents of Indian Philosophy, Sir Radha Krishnan and Professor Das Gupta, may profitably be quoted on the nature of *Moksa*. This will bring out more clearly the points of difference and resemblance between it and the Ṣūfī doctrine of *fanā*.

Sir Radha Krishnan summarising the doctrine of *Moksa* says: "Whatever differences there might be about the exact nature of the highest condition, one thing is clear, that it is a state of activity, full of freedom and perfection. Strictly speaking, we cannot describe that state, but if a description is wanted, it is best to consider it to be a state of divine life. The self is not annihilated any more than the ray of the sun is lost in the sun, the wave of the sea in the ocean, the notes of music in one harmony. The song of the individual is not lost in the music of the world march. It is the same for ever and yet not the same. It is said that the liberated soul becomes one with all and lives a life in unity with God. The positive description seems to suggest a sense of individuality which helps him to act in this world, though this individuality is not based on any self-feeling. This individualisation of life seems to be necessary for the fulfilment of the joy of the one supreme. Even though for a purpose of self-expression there is this possession of a centre of individuality, we are told that the soul is conscious of its glory and the greatness of immortality. It feels that God is at work in the cosmic drama, where the divine consciousness plays and acts. The liberated individual also plays in the same drama with full possession of the truth. There is nothing which does not bend to his purpose."[1]

Professor Das Gupta who calls it *Muktī*, emancipation, describing it says "Emancipation or *Muktī* means in the *Upanishads* the state of infiniteness that a man attains when he knows his own self and thus becomes Brahman. The ceaseless course of transmigration is only for those who are ignorant. The wise man however who has divested himself of all passions and knows himself to be Brahman and no bondage of any kind can ever affect him......The knowledge of the self reveals the fact that all our passions and antipathies, all our limitations of experience, all that is ignoble and small in us, all that is transient and finite in us is false. We do not know but are "pure knowledge" ourselves. We are not limited by anything, for we are infinite; we do not suffer death, for we are immortal. Emancipation thus is not a new acquisition, product, an effect, or result of any action, but it always exists as the Truth of our nature." Then concluding his illuminating summary he says: "The true self manifests itself in all the processes of our phenomenal existences, but ultimately when it retires back to itself, it can no longer be found in them. It is a state of absolute infinitude of pure intelligence, pure being; and pure blessing."[2]

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[1] *Indian Philosophy*, Vol I. P. 241.

[2] *A History of Iudian Philosophy*, Vol I. P. 58.

CHAPTER IX

The Origin of Religious Orders

In the preceding chapters we have traced the origin and development of Ṣūfism, and have noticed how from time to time certain new elements and modifications were introduced into its teaching. But such doctrinal development forms only one aspect of the study of Ṣūfism. Another, and no less interesting one, is that which concerns the origin and growth of its fraternities or Religious Orders, through which the various forms of its teaching were disseminated to the different parts of the Muslim world.

The origin of these Religious Orders is said, by certain western scholars, to date from the 12th century A.D. Such a statement may be accepted as correct in the sense that at that period these Orders were fully organized, and that each was marked by distinguishing features in its teaching and practice. Otherwise the Ṣūfī-fraternities ought to be traced back to a much earlier date. As Professor D. B. Macdonald himself says, "The earliest Muslims were burdened, as we have seen, (cp. pp. 11, 12) with fear of the terrors of an avenging God. The world was evil and fleeting; the only abiding good was in the other world; so their religion became an ascetic other-worldliness. They fled into the wilderness from the wrath to come. Wandering, either solitary or in companies, was the special sign of the true Ṣūfī. The young men gave themselves over to the guidance of the older men; little circles of disciples gathered round a venerated Shaykh; fraternities began to form. So we find it in the case of al-Junayd, so in that of Sarī-a's-Saqaṭī. Next would come a monastery, rather a rest-house; for only in the winter and for rest did they remain fixed in a place for any time. Of such a monastery there is a trace at Damascus in 150 (767 A.D.) and in Khurasan about 200 (815-16 A.D.)."[1]

These wandering companies in course of time came to be called *aṭ-Ṭarīqa*, the path, (pl. *aṭ-Ṭurq*) or *Khānwāda*, a family, but through the influence of western writers they are commonly spoken of as 'Religious Orders.' The teachings imparted in these Orders are supposed to have been handed down through more or less continuous chains of succession originating with the founders. Such a chain is called *silsila*, (pl. *salāsil*).

The centre of every order at any given time is a *murshid* (a guide) Shaykh or *pīr* (an elder), who is considered to be a spiritual heir of the original founder, and as such received his authority through his immediate predecessor.

We have already seen that to a Muslim, Ṣūfism is not a late development of Islam, but is as old as Islam itself. As a matter of fact all the orders trace their chains of succession back to Muhammad, and thus it is that the founder of Islam is regarded by the Ṣūfīs as also the fountain-head of Ṣūfism. Next to Muhammad in the chains of succession comes, in most cases, the name of ʻAlī, but in a few there stands second the name of Abū Bakr. The importance of ʻAlī in Ṣūfism is thus very great. Further, inasmuch as Muhammad is reported to have said, "I am the house of knowledge and ʻAlī is its gate," most Ṣufīs regard ʻAlī as the one medium of divine knowledge between Muhammad and his followers. He is revered by them as the heir to all Muhammad's esoteric and exoteric knowledge. All this is emphasized by the fact that while hundreds of religious orders are traced to ʻAlī, only three, viz. the Bisṭāmiyya, Bakhtashiyya, and Naqshbandiyya regard Abū Bakr as their head, and of these, only the last named is current in India. But so important is the place of ʻAlī in Ṣūfism, that the Naqshbandī order also is traced by a different line of succession to him. This has been done to invest it with the peculiar dignity which is attached to the other Religious Orders already privileged to be associated with his name. It is true that according to the decision of *Sunnī* cannon lawyers ʻAlī ranks as fourth in dignity when compared with the other three *khalīfas*, Abū Bakr, ʻUmar and ʻUthman, but in Ṣūfism the first and highest place after Muhammad is accorded to him.

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[1] Macdonald, *Theology*, p. 177.

Shaykh ʻAlīu'l-Hujwirī writes concerning ʻAlī. "His renown and rank in this Path (of Ṣūfism) were very high. He explained the principles (*uṣūl*) of Divine truth with exceeding subtlety, so that Junayd said 'Alī is our Shaykh as regards the endurance of affliction, *i.e.* in the theory and practice of Ṣūfism; for Ṣūfīs call the theory of this Path "principles" (*uṣūl*), and its practice consists entirely in the endurance of affliction."[1]

HASAN OF BASRA.

Ḥasan of Baṣra holds, next to 'Alī, the most prominent place in the 'chains' of the Religious Orders. It is said that 'Alī had seventy disciples and that, after his death, these appointed four persons from themselves to be *pīrs* or elders. The Ṣūfīs differ as to the persons who were chosen to be these four *pīrs*. Some mention Ḥasan and Ḥusayn, the grandsons of Muhammad, together with Khwāja Kumayl, and Ḥasan of Baṣra; others, retaining the last two names, either substitute Uwaysu 'l-Qaranī and Sarīu 's-Saqaṭī or 'Abdullāh Baḥrī.

It will be seen, however, that this difference of opinion does not affect the position of Ḥasan of Baṣra. His name follows 'Alī's at the head of most of the Religious Orders, and, as we shall see, he is recognised as the spiritual head of those lines of succession which gave rise to three famous orders, viz. the Qādiriyya, the Chishtiyya, and the Suhrawardiyya. His mother was a maid servant of Umm Salma, one of Muhammad's wives, and he himself was a contemporary of the renowned woman saint of Islam, Rābi'a of Baṣra. At the death of Muhammad, Ḥasan was very young, and though not honoured as one of the leading *Tābi'ūn*, the followers of the companions of the Prophet, he is said to have visited one hundred and thirty companions of Muhammad. 'Alī appointed him as one of his chief successors to carry on the esoteric teaching of Islam.

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*. p. 74.

The names of two of Ḥasan's disciples, viz. Khwāja 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid b. Zayd and Ḥabību'l-'Ajamī, stand at the head of two main lines of the Religious Orders. From the first of these sprang four further sub-divisions, from the second, eight. These are called *chawda khhānwade* or fourteen families. Most of the remaining orders are subsequent divisions and sub-divisions of these fourteen. We shall proceed to give a brief account of the two main lines with their sub-divisions.

i. ZAYDIYYA.

This was the Order founded by Khwāja 'Abdu 'l-Wāḥid b. Zayd. The four Orders which sprang from it are the following:

1. *'Iyāḍiyya.* This Order was founded by Khwāja Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ. An account of his life has already been given in a previous chapter, (see pp. 13-14.)

His outstanding virtue is said to have been the love of God in perfect conformity with His holy will. It is related that on one occasion the famous Khalīfa Hārūnu 'r-Rashīd asked him: "Have you ever met with any one of greater detachment than yourself ?" He made answer, "Yes, O Khalīfa! your detachment exceeds mine, for I have detached myself from this world doomed to perdition, while you seem to have detached yourself from the world which is infinite and shall endure for ever."

2. *Adhamiyya*. This Order was founded by Abū Isḥāq Ibrāhīm b. Adham, a successor of K͟hwāja Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ. Reference has already been made to this Ibrāhīm as one of the earliest ascetics of Islam. The author of *Kashfu 'l-Maḥjūb* writes about him: "In the earlier part of his life he was prince of Balk͟h. One day he went to the chase, and having become separated from his suite was pursuing an antelope. God caused the antelope to address him in elegant language and say: "Wast thou created for this; or wast thou commanded to do this?" He repented, abandoned everything, and entered on the path of asceticism and abstinence. He made the acquaintance of Fuḍayl b. 'Iyāḍ and Sufyān T͟hawrī, and consorted with them. After his conversion he never ate any food except what he had earned by his own labour. His sayings on the verities of Ṣufism are original and exquisite. Junayd said: Ibrāhīm is the key of the (Mystical) sciences."[1]

The following are the comments made by Rose upon the Ṣūfī account of Ibrāhīm: "The Ṣūfī legend concerning him is evidently modelled upon the story of Buddha, for in it he appears as a prince who, while hunting, was warned by an unseen voice that he was not created for such pursuits. Thereupon he abandoned the path of worldly pomp for the path of asceticism and piety. He became a quietist of a practical type, and did not carry the doctrine of *tawakkul* to the point of refusing to earn his livelihood; on the contrary, he supported himself by gardening and so on. He approved of begging in so far as it incites men to give alms and thereby increase their chance of salvation, but he condemned it as a means of livelihood. So he distinguished two kinds of begging. C. van Arendonk says that a trait far more characteristic of Indian and Syrian than of Muslim ascetism appears in the story that one of the three occasions on which Ibrāhīm felt joy was when he looked at the fur garment he was wearing, and could not distinguish the fur from the lice (E. I. ii. p. 432). But this story is poor evidence of Buddhist or Indian influence on Ibrāhīm, because a very similar episode is told of the Breton saint, Le Petit St. Jean. A notable legend says that angels ministered to Ibrāhīm on the banks of the Tigris after he had resigned his kingdom, bringing him ten dishes of food. This roused the envy of a *darwish* who had been a poor man before he assumed the habit of a beggar, and to whom only one plate was vouchsafed. The incident is a common place topic of Indo-Persian or Mughal painting (J. R. A. S., 1909, p. 751 and 1910, p. 167) There can, however, be no doubt that Ibrāhīm was a great figure in his day, and his memory still survives in Islam as far as India. The tale that he married a princess is even more persistent than the tradition that he was of royal birth."[1]

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 103.

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[1] Rose, *The Darvishes,* p. 83.

3. *Hubayriyya.* This Order is ascribed to K͟hwāja Hubayra of Baṣra, a successor of K͟hwāja Mariashī a vicegerent of Ibrāhīm b. Adham. Hubayra is known to have lived in company with Junayd of Bag͟hdād, but otherwise we are told little concerning him.

4. *Chishtiyya.* This was founded by K͟hwāja Abū Isḥāq Shāmī Chishtī, a disciple of Mimshād Dinwarī, a vicegerent of Hubayra of Baṣra. Mimshād was also a disciple of Junayd of Bag͟hdād.

A more detailed account of the Chishtī Order will be given in the next chapter.

ii. HABIBIYYA.

Ḥabīb 'Ajamī, the founder of this Order, was at first a usurer but, being touched with the suffering of his debtors, he renounced his profession and granted remission to all who owed him money. Finally he became a disciple of Ḥasan of Baṣra.

The story is told that one day Ḥasan came to Ḥabīb who offered him some loaves. In the meantime a beggar came and Ḥabīb quickly picked up the loaves and gave them away. Ḥasan, annoyed at his behaviour, reprovingly said to him, "Had you known the law you would not have acted in this way. Do you not know that it is forbidden to take away a meal when once offered to a guest?" While he spoke a stranger brought some food which Ḥabīb placed before Ḥasan and said to him: "Master, you know the law, but how good it is to have faith also."

We find the following narrative concerning him ni *Kashfu'l-Maḥjūb*: "His native tongue was Persian (*'ajamī*), and he could not speak Arabic correctly. One evening Ḥasan of Baṣra passed by the door of his cell. Ḥabīb had uttered the call to prayer and was standing, engaged in devotion. Ḥasan came in, but would not pray under his leadership, because Ḥabīb was unable to speak Arabic fluently or recite the Quran correctly. The same night, Ḥasan dreamt that he saw God and said to Him ; O Lord, wherein does Thy good pleasure consist? " and that God answered : "O Ḥasan, you found My good pleasure but did not know its value : if yesternight you had said your prayer after Ḥabīb, and if the rightness of his intention had restrained you from taking offence at his pronounciation, I should have been well pleased with you."[1] He died in 772-3 A.D.

The eight Orders which have originated from him are as follows :

1. *Karkhiyya*. This was founded by Ma'rūfu 'l-Karkhī (Karkh is a district of Baghdād), to whose teaching brief reference has already been made (see pp. 18-19). Through his *pīr* Dā'ūd Ṭā'ī, he is connected with Ḥabīb 'Ajamī. He died in 815-16 A.D., and his tomb, "saved by popular reverence, is one of the few ancient sites in modern Baghdād."[2]

2. *Saqaṭiyya*. This Order owes its origin to Khwāja Ḥasan Sarī'u-'s-Saqaṭī, a vicegerent of Ma'rūfu

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 88.

[2] Macdonald, *Muslim Theology*, p. 175.

'l-Karkhī. He was called *saqaṭī* because he used to carry on the business of a huckster (*saqaṭ farosh*) in the bazar at Baghdād. He was the first to give systematic teaching about "station" (*maqāmāt*) in the Path, as well as concerning spiritual "states" (*aḥwāl*). To him is ascribed, "but dubiously, the first use of the word *tawḥīd* to signify the union of the soul with God."[1] One of his sayings runs as follows: "If God were revealed in hell to the people of hell, sinful believers would never think of Paradise, since the sight of God would so fill them with joy that they would not feel bodily pain." He died in 870-71 A.D.

3. *Ṭayfūriyya*. This Order was founded by Abū Yazīd Ṭayfūru'l-Bisṭāmī, also known as Bāyazīdu'l-Bisṭāmī. Reference has already been made to him as the one, believed by some, chiefly responsible for the introduction into Ṣūfism of pantheism and the conception of self-annihilation. He is said to have received his spiritual authority from Imām Ja'far Ṣādiq and also from Ḥabīb 'Ajamī, but he could not have had any contact with them in their life-time, since both had died before he was born. The author of the *Shaqā'iqu'n-Nu'māniyya*[2] endeavours to minimise the break in the continuity between him and his predecessor by saying that Bāyazīdu'l-Bisṭāmī, though born after the decease of the Imām

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[1] Macdonlad, *op. cit.* p. 175.

[2] See Rose. *The Darvishes*, p. 140. The full title of the book is the *Shaqa'iqu'n-nu'maniyya fi'ulamau'd-dawlatu'l-Uthmaniyya*, 'Blood-red wild anemones touching the learned of the Ottoman Empire' by the Mulla Tashkopruzada, who died in 1560 A.D.

Ja'far Ṣādiq, yet received spiritual instruction from him by the force of the will of the latter. A somewhat similar explanation is given to connect him in the spiritual succession with Ḥabīb 'Ajamī. Ṣūfīs in general accept these explanations.

The distinctive feature of the Ṭayfūrī Order is its teaching about *sukr*, 'intoxication' of the love of God and *wajd*, 'rapture'. The following is the explanation of this as given by 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī: "You must know that 'intoxication' and 'rapture' are terms used by spiritualists to denote the rapture of love for God, while the term 'sobriety' expresses the attainment of that which is desired. Some place the former above the latter, and some hold the latter to be superior. Abū Yazīd and his followers prefer intoxication to sobriety. They say that sobriety involves the fixity and equilibrium of human attributes, which are the greatest veil between God and Man, whereas intoxication involves the destruction of human attributes, like foresight and choice, and the annihilation of a man's self control in God, so that only those faculties survive in him that do not belong to the human *genus*; and they are the most complete and perfect. Thus David was in the state of sobriety; an act proceeded from him which God attributed to him and said, "*David killed Goliath*" (Quran 2:252): but our Apostle was in the state ot intoxication; an act proceeded from him which God attributed to Himself and said, "*Thou didst not throw when thou threwest but God threw*" (Quran 8:17). How great is the difference between these two men! The attribution of man's act to God is better than the attribution of God's to a man, for in the latter case the man stands by himself, while in the former case he stands through God."[1]

In further explanation of Bāyazīd's doctrine of 'sobriety' and 'intoxication' 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī writes: "There are two kinds of intoxication: (1) with the wine of affection (*mawaddat*) and (2) with the cup of love (*maḥabbat*). The former is 'caused' (*ma'lūl*), since it arises from regarding the benefit (*ni'amat*); but the latter has no cause, since it arises from regarding the benefactor (*mun'im*). He who regards the benefit sees through himself and therefore sees himself, but he who regards the benefactor sees through Him and therefore does not see himself, so that, although he is intoxicated, his intoxication is sobriety.

"Sobriety also is of two kinds; sobriety in heedlessnesss (*g͟haflat*) and sobriety in love (*maḥabbat*). The former is the greatest of veils, but the latter is the clearest of revelations. The sobriety that is connected with heedlessness is really intoxication, while that which is linked with love, although it be intoxication, is really sobriety."[2]

It is on the basis of this theory of 'sobriety' and 'intoxication', that the pantheistic utterances of the Ṣūfīs are justified by the orthodox, they being uttered not while in the state of the sobriety but in that of intoxication.

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*. pp. 184-5.

[2] *Ibid*, pp. 187-8.

4. *The Junaydiyya.* This had its origin in Abu'l-Qāsimu'l Junayd who is *Sayyidu'ṭ-Ṭā'ifa*, 'Lord of the sect', and *Ṭā'ūsu'l-'Ulamā*, 'peacock of the learned'. He was a successor of his maternal uncle, *Sarī'us-Saqaṭī*. Professor Macdonald says about him: "Perhaps the greatest name in early Ṣūfism is that of al-Junayd (d. 909-10 A. D.); on it no shadow of heresy has ever fallen. He was a master in theology and law, reverenced as one of the greatest of the early doctors. Question of *tawḥīd* he is said to have discussed before his pupils with shut doors. But this was probably *tawḥīd* in the theological and not in the mystical sense against the mu'tazilites and not on the union of the soul with God. Yet he, too, knew the ecstatic life and fell fainting at verses which struck into his soul."[1]

'Alīu'l-Hujwirī writes thus about his doctrine: "His doctrine is based on sobriety and is opposed to that of the Ṭayfūrīs,......It is the best known and most celebrated of all doctrines, and all the Shaykhs have adopted it, notwithstanding that there is much difference in their sayings on the ethics of Ṣūfīsm."[2] The following conversation between Ḥusayn b, Manṣūru'l-Ḥallāj and al-Junayd illustrates differences between 'sobriety' and 'intoxication' as viewed by the latter. Ḥusayn b. Manṣūr, after he had broken his relation with his teacher, 'Amr b. 'Uthmānu'l-Makkī, came to al-Junayd. "Junayd asked him for what purpose he had come to him. Ḥusayn said: For the purpose of associating with the Shaykh., Junayd replied: 'I do not associate with madmen. Association demands sanity; if that is wanting, the result is such behaviour as yours in regard to Sahl b. 'Abdallah Tustari and 'Amr.' Ḥusayn said 'O Shaykh, sobriety and intoxication are two attributes of Man, and Man is veiled from his Lord until his attributes are annihilated.' 'O son of Manṣūr,' said Junayd, 'you are in error concerning sobriety and intoxication. The former denotes soundness of one's spiritual state in relation to God, while the latter denotes excess of longing and extremity of love, and neither of them can be acquired by human effort. O son of Manṣūr, in your words I see much foolishness and nonsense."[1]

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[1] Macdonaldi *Muslim Theology*. p. 176.

[2] *Kashf al-Mahjub*. p. 189.

The remaining four Orders of the fourteen *Khānwādas* have descended from the Junaydiyya Order.

5. *Gāzrūniyya Order.* This was founded by Khwāja Abū Isḥāq Gāzrūnī. He is fourth in the line of succession from al-Junayd. Abū Isḥāq died in 1037-38 A. D.

6. *Ṭarṭawsīyya,* This Order is ascribed to Abu'l-Faraḥ Ṭarṭawsī, who is the fourth in the line of succession from al-Junayd. The famous Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī, who founded the Qādirī Order, was fourth in spiritual succession from this Abu'l-Faraḥ. Abu'l-Faraḥ died in 1055 A. D.

7. *Suhrawardiyya.* This Order had its rise with Abu'n-Najīb, who died in 1234-35 A. D. A full

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub.* p. 189.

account of this Order will be given in the following chapter.

8. *Firdawsiyya, or Kubrawiyya.* This was founded by Abu'l-Jannāb Aḥmad b. 'Umaru'l-K͟hīwaqī (of K͟hīwā), commonly known as Najmu'd-dīn Kubrā. He was a disciple of Abu'n-Najīb, just mentioned. His *pīr* called him 'the Shayk͟h of Paradise', hence he came to be known as Firdawsī (of Paradise). Najmu'd-Dīn was seventh in the line of succession from al-Junayd. He died in 1221 A. D.

CHAPTER X.

The Four Main Orders

Of all Orders which are directly or indirectly related to the fourteen *K͟hānwādas* mentioned in the preceding chapter only four, viz. the Chishtiyya, the Qādiriyya, the Suhrawardiyya and the Naqshbandiyya, exist in India as Orders of sufficient importance to merit detailed treatment here. Of these, as we have seen, the Chishtiyya and the Suhrawardiyya belong to the Ḥabībiyya, while the Qādiriyya is an offshoot of the Ṭarṭawsiyya. In the case of the Naqshbandiyya, though it sprang from the line of Junaydiyya, yet it is traced back, from Junayd, through a different line of succession to Abū Bakr. We now proceed to give a brief description of these four.

i. THE CHISHTI ORDER

K͟hwāja Abū Isḥāq Shāmī Chistī, ninth in spiritual succession from 'Alī, is regarded as the founder of this Order. He migrated from Asia Minor and settled at Chisht in K͟hhurāsān. and in consequence was called Chishtī. He was a disciple and a vicegerent of Mimshād 'Alī Dinwarī.

Mimshād 'Alī Dinwari appears to have been connected with two main lines of succession, already mentioned, the one traceable to 'Abdu'l-Wahāb b. Zayd, and the other to Ḥabīb 'Ajamī. In the former he was a disciple of Hubayratu'l-Baṣrī and in the latter of

Junayd. As a vicegerent of Hubayra he belonged to the line which gave rise to the Chishtī Order, but as a disciple of Junayd he stood at the head of the line which subdivided itself into the Qādirī and Suhrawardī Orders. Prince Dārā Shikoh, however, in his book, *Safīnatu'l-Awliyā*, holds to the opinion that Khwāja 'Alī Dinwarī and Mimshād Dinwarī were different persons. The one, he says, was a disciple of Ḥubayra and the other of Junayd. But the majority of the hagiographers consider that these were the names of one and the same person, explaining that he had received his spiritual authority from both the saints.

The following four, who were spiritually descended from Abū Isḥāq Chishtī, are regarded by Ṣufīs to have been the great pillars of the religion of Islam:

1. Khwāja Abū Aḥmad. (d. 966 A. D.). He was a vicegerent of Abū Isḥāq, and became an Abdāl.

2. Khwāja Abū Muḥammad. (d. 1020 A. D.). He was the son and successor of Abū Aḥmad.

3. Khwāja Abū Yūsuf. (d. 1067 A. D.). He was a vicegerent of Abū Muḥammad.

4. Khwāja Mawdūd. (d. 1133 A. D.). He was the son and successor of Abū Yusūf.

Fourth in the line of succession from Khwāja Mawdūd Chishtī appeared Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn of Ajmer, the sponsor of the Order in India. He has been the most renowned saint in the history of the Order, in fact, by several writers, he, and not Khwāja Abū Isḥāq, has been regarded as the founder of the Chishtī Order.

The devotees of this Order practise *chilla*, i. e. they shut themselves up for forty days in some room or pass the time in a mosque. During this period they eat little food and spend the greater part of the night and day in prayer and meditation, nor do they talk with others more than is absolutely necessary· Another characteristic of the followers of this Order is their fondness for music. They hold musical festivals, and pass into ecstasy while listening to singing.

The Order is now indigenous to India, and hence a detailed account of it will be given in connection with its Indian History.

(ii) THE QADIRI ORDER.

The Order, as we have seen, sprung from the Kh̲ānwāda Ṭarṭawsiyya, and traces its origin to 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī or Jīlānī. 'Abdu'l-Qādir is also called Ḥasanu'l-Ḥusaynī, on account of his descent, on his mother's side from Ḥusayn and on his father's side from Ḥasan, Muhammad's grandsons. His father's name was 'Alī Ṣāliḥ, nicknamed *Jangī dost*, a Persian phrase which means "warlike friend." How the father came to acquire this name is not definitely known. That the father was given this Persian name and he himself was known as Gīlānī seems to indicate that this Arab family must have been long settled in Persia. Gīlān or Jīlān was a district south of the Caspian Sea, where 'Abdu'l Qādir was born. The date of his birth is given as 1077 A. D. At the age of 18 he went to Bag̲h̲dād and became a disciple of Abū Sa'īd Mubārak Muk̲h̲arramī

In several texts Mukharramī is corrupted to Makhzūmī, but as Mukharram was a place in Baghdād, Mubārak's name must have been derived from it. Abū Sa'īd Mubārak was the head of the Ḥanbalī school which he handed over to 'Abdu'l-Qādir. It was in this Madarasa that the saint began to lecture, and it became so crowded that it was necessary to have it enlarged. In 1134 A. D. a huge new building was completed, and it was from this centre of instruction that his disciples carried his teaching all over Iraq. 'Abdu'l-Qādir lived in Baghdād till he died in 1166 A.D.

He has more than 99 titles, the chief and the best known are; *Pīr-i-Pīrān* or Chief of the saints; *Pīr-i-Dastgīr* or the Saint my helper, *Ghawthu'l-A'zam* or the Great Refuge, *Maḥbūb-i-Subḥānī* or the Beloved of God, and *Muḥī'u'd-Dīn*, The Reviver of Religion.

The following anecdote, ascribed to 'Abdu'l-Qādir, purports to give his explanation as to how he came to have his last designation. It is related that the saint said, "In 1117 A. D. when I returned from one of my periodic wanderings to Baghdād I met a person who was very sick, in fact his entire body was emaciated and his face a ghastly yellow. Saluting me he sought my help to enable him to sit up. When I stretched out my hand to raise him he was at once restored to perfect health and became again a strong and handsome man. I was surprised at the sudden change that came over him, but the man said, 'Do you not know me? I am the religion of Islam, and was at the point of death, but God has revived me through your help.' When, having left him, I arrived at the mosque to say prayer every one greeted me as Muḥīu'd-Dīn, and kissed my hand. Hitherto no one had ever called me by this name."

With a view to enhance his dignity, many traditions foretelling 'Abdu'l-Qādir's advent and glory have been ascribed to Muhammad. For instance, there is the following anecdote quoted by J. P. Brown. It is related that once the daughter of the Prophet of God, Fāṭima, saw in a dream, that a man came out of her father's apartment, holding a large candle in his hand, the light of which extended from the East to the West. She mentioned this to the Prophet, in the presence of his nephew, 'Alī, her husband, and the former interpreted it, that one would come after him ('Alī), whose sanctity would resemble the candle, and be the chief of all saints. 'Alī exclaimed against this, on the ground that he himself was the chief. "No," said the prophet; "the one I allude to will have his foot on the neck of all the saints, and all will come under his rule; those who do not bear his feet on their shoulders and bend before him, will bear bags on their shoulders." 'Alī would not admit this, and declared that for one he would refuse to bear him. Just then, the Prophet miraculously created a child; and as there was some fruit on a high shelf of the room, he asked 'Alī to reach it down for the child. 'Alī attempted to do it, but was not high enough, and the Prophet placed the child on his ('Alī's) neck, so as to reach the fruit. 'Ali having submitted to this, "See, see!" exclaimed the Prophet, "you already bear the person I allude to on your neck." This child was 'Abdu'l-Qādir himself.[1]

This reputed prediction of Muhammad concering him is said to have been fulfilled when, in his Bag͟hdād Guest House, before a large audience of scholars and saints of Iraq, he uttered in the course of a lecture the words, "This my foot rests on the neck of all the saints of God." At this all the saints there present bowed their necks. It is further asserted that, at that very instant, three hundred and thirteen saints in other parts of the world received the impression of 'Abdu'l-Qādir's assertion and forthwith bowed their necks in obedience.

His '*urs* is celebrated on the 11th. of the month Rabī'u 't͟h-T͟hānī. On the evening of the 10th, a special ceremony is performed in some parts of India in the following way. A large green flag, with impressions of the out-spread hand (*panja*) made on it with sandalwood paste, is carried in procession. With this is carried sandalwood-paste, powdered sugar-bread (*malīda*), flowers, sweets, and aloes and thus with lighted torches and music the people go to an appointed place and set up the standard. Then, offering the *Fātiḥa* in the name of the *pīr*, the sweets and powdered sugar-bread are distributed to the people. Because the '*urs* itself is celebrated on the 11th. that day is called *Gyārahwīn sharīf*, the Holy Eleventh, the day of the saint's death, but as a matter of fact, there is difference of opinion as to the actual date on which he died. According to some his death took place on the

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[1] Rose, *The Darvishes*, pp. 52, 53.

8th. and according to others on the 10th. of Rabī'u 'th-thānī. But as he himself was in the habit of reciting the *Fātiḥa* in the name of the Prophet on the 11th. day of every month, therefore, by common consent, the 11th, of Rabī'u'th-thānī is kept for reciting the *Fātiḥa* in his name. On this day his devotees recite the chapters 1, 111, 113 and 114 of the Quran, repeat his 99 names on food specially prepared, and feed their friends and beggars. Others recite the *Fātiḥa*, not on food, but on some sweets, which are then distributed.

The saint is also invoked when cholera or any other epidemic is raging. At such times people take out the flag of the saint in procession, singing an invocation to the saint. Both Hindus and Muslims make gifts of money and put them in a plate in which incense is burnt. Herklots says, "Some people vow that if, by the mercy of the saint, they are blessed with a son or daughter, they will make him, or her, his slave. Should their wishes be accomplished, on the 10th, or 11th, of this month they fix on this child a large anklet (A. *ḥalqa H. berī*) on which year by year they pass a smaller ring. They cook cakes, place on them eleven small lamps made of flour paste, and light them with red cotton wicks soaked in butter. They burn aloes and put the ring on the child, if it be an anklet, on the right ankle, if it be a collarette (*ṭauq*), round the child's neck."[1]

The followers of the Qādirī Order wear an embroidered rose in their caps, the origin of which is traced to the following legend. "The Shaykhu's-Sa'īd

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[1] Herklots, *Islam in India*, pp. 193, 4.

'Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī was directed by Khwāja Khiḍr to proceed to Baghdad. On his arrival there, the Shaykh sent him a cup filled with water, the meaning of which was that the city of Baghdad was full of holy people, and that it contained no place for him. This occurred during the winter season, and no flower was in bloom. The Shaykh ('Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī) put a rose in the cup, signifying that Baghdad would hold a place for him. Seeing this, all present exclaimed, 'The Shaykh is our rose', and going to meet him they conducted him to the city, and showed him marked respect."[1]

The form of the rose of Baghdād is as follows: "It has two outside and two inside rings, and three circles, and is made on green cloth. The first circle signifies *sharī'at*, 'God's law as revealed by His Prophet'; the second signifies *ṭarīqat*, or 'Path' of the Order ; the third signifies the *ma'rifat* or 'knowledge' of God. The three together are sign that their acquisition has bestowed the *ḥāl*, or condition, known as the *ḥaqīqat*, or 'Truth'. The holy word *Ḥay*, or 'The Living God', manifested to the Shaykh, has for its colour green, and for this reason the rose is made on cloth of that colour. The circles are white, and the reason is that this same is a sign of perfect submission to the Shaykh, according to the traditional words of the Prophet, 'The Divine law is my word; the path is my acts (practices); the knowledge is the chief of all things; and the truth is my condition'. Whoever knows these secrets must assume the disposition of the moral laws of God, and the character of the Divine nature. The blessings which will accompany him in eternal life are those of everlasting felicity and never-ending aid."[1]

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[1] Rose, *The Darvishes*, p. 101.

iii. THE SUHRAWARDI ORDER.

This order originated from the Junaydī K͟hānwāda and was founded by Ḍiyā'u'd-Dīn Najīb Suhrawardī, the author of the *Adābu'l-Murīdīn*, Manners of the Disciples. The latter died in 1167 A. D., but not much is known about his life.

It was through some of his leading disciples that the Order gained in reputation and influence. Special reference has already been made to one of his vicegerents, Abu'l-Jannāb Aḥmad K͟hīwaqī (of K͟hīvā or K͟hwārazm), commonly known as Shayk͟h Najmu'd-Dīn Kubrā, as the founder of the Firdawsī or Kubrawī K͟hānwāda. His title *Kubrā* is an abbreviation of his nickname *aṭ-ṭāmmatu'l-kubrā*, "the Greatest Scourge." which in the days of his student life was given to him by his friends on account of his trenchant and dexterous style in debate which rendered him always victorious over his adversaries. He is also called by the title of *walī tarāsh*, "Fashioner of Saints," which was bestowed upon him because it was believed that the one on whom his glance fell in moments of divine ecstasy attained to the degree of saintship. Many strange anecdotes illustrating the transforming power of his glance are found in Muslim hagiography which go to show that this influence was not limited to human beings but extended to birds and animals. One such story says that once during one of the moments of his ecstasy, Shaykh Najmu'd-Dīn was standing at the door of his *khānaqāh*, his glance fell on a passing dog. Instantly the condition of the dog was changed and it showed such behaviour as corresponded to that of a man who had lost himself (*i. e.*, in the mystic sense). Wherever it went dogs gathered round it who would put their paws into his (in token of allegiance) and then withdraw themselves and stand at a respectful distance surrounding it. A few days after, the dog died, and by the order of the Shaykh Najmu'd-Dīn its carcass was buried and a structure was raised over its grave.

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[1] Rose, *The Darvishes*. pp. 103, 4.

Najmu'd-Dīn was one of the 600,000 who perished in the sack of Khwarazm by the Mongols in 1221 A. D. They story is related that the fame of his character and spiritual leadership reached Chengiz Khan who sent a message to say that he intended to sack Khwarazm and massacre its inhabitants and as the moment had arrived for the accomplishment of this catastrophe therefore Najmu'd Dīn should leave the city and join him. The Shaykh refused to avail himself of this opportunity to save his life and replied : "For me to come out from among the inhabitants of Khwarazm would be an action far from the way of magnanimity and virtue." Then addressing his disciples he said : "A great fire is kindled in the east which will burn unto the west, therefore arise and return to your own countries." When the Mongols invaded Khwarazm, he went out to fight and was found amongst the slain.

Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī was another eminent disciple of the founder of this Order. He was born in 1145 A. D. and died in 1234-5 A. D. He received his instruction in Mysticism from Ḍiyā'u'd-Dīn, his paternal uncle, who appointed him his vice-gerent. In the early days of his life he remained also in the company with Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlanī and was highly spoken of by him.

Shihābu'd-Din was a great exponent of Ṣūfism. Of his various works, the most famous is *'Awārifu'l-Ma'ārif*, "Gifts of Divine Knowledge", which has been used as a manual for the study of Ṣūfism by Ṣūfīs of all Orders. Its Urdu translation is commonly available in India. In the original Arabic it was printed on the margin of an edition of al-Ghazālī's *Iḥya'u'l-'Ulūm*, published at Cairo in 1888. The famous Sa'dī of Shīrāz, one of his more notable disciples, has a short anecdote about him in the *Būstān*. The saint is there represented as praying that hell might be filled with himself if perchance others might thereby obtain salvation. In his days he was the chief of the Shaykhs of the Ṣūfīs at Baghdād and mystics from different parts of the Muslim world sought his advice in spiritual matters. One such Ṣūfī wrote to him : "Master, if I cease from deeds I am perpetually in idleness and if I perform deeds I am filled with presumption, which of these is the better ?" He replied : "Perform deeds and ask God's pardon for the presumption." [1]

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[1] Md. Husain : *Anwaru l'Arifin*, p. 332.

Others of Shihābu'd-Dīn's disciples introduced the Order to different parts of the East. Sayyid Nūru'd-Dīn Mubārak Ghaznawī, one of his vice-gerents, came to Delhi, and was appointed Shaykhu'l Islām of that city by king Altamash. Another of his vice-gerents, Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyā, to whom we shall have occasion to refer again, came to India and settled in Multan, and is recognized as the pioneer saint of the Order in this country.

The political influence of the Suhrawardī Order is well illustrated by the achievement of one of its saints, Amīr Sultān Shamsu'd-Dīn Muḥammad b. 'Alīu'l-Ḥusayniu'l-Bukhārī, born in 1369 A. D. It is said that once, when he visited Medina, the Sharīf of Ḥaramayn refused to recognize him as a Sayyid. Whereupon a voice from the tomb of the Prophet acknowledged him as a descendant of Muhammad. Later he settled at Bursa where he made 400,000 disciples. He married Nilūfar Khānum, a daughter of the Sultān Bāyazīd I. It is true that such alliances between saints and daughters of ruling princes are commonplace legends in Ṣūfī traditions, but this union is a historical fact.[1] It is, too, an admitted fact that he played an important part as a mediator in the invasion of Timur. He is recognised also as a saint of the Naqshbandī Order, and till the abolition of the Monastic Orders in Turkey three *takias* known by his name were held by the Naqshbandīs.[2]

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[1] *The Darvishes*, p. 161.

[2] *The Darvishes*, pp. 470, 71. 72.

The late Canon Sell says about this Order, "The majority of its followers are still in Persia, but its influence has been felt elsewhere. The teaching of a Suhrawardī was highly mystical and dealt with the deeper aspect of Ṣufīsm. It is not so much now an Order as a school of mystic philosophy, which has had a great influence on the teaching of many of the African Orders and fosters the growth of fatalism amongst them." [1]

iv. The NAQSHBANDI ORDER.

The origin of this Order is generally ascribed to Khwāja Bahā'u'd-Dīn Naqshband, who died in Persia in 1389 A. D. The word *naqshband* literally means an embroiderer or printer on cloth, and, as applied to Bahā'u'd-Dīn, probably refers to his ancestral profession. Another explanation, however, is given by a Muslim writer whom Rose quotes : "This people (*ṭa'ifa*) polish the exterior of their minds and intellects with pictures, and being free from the rust and wiles of life are not of those who are captivated by vain colourings of the world as varied as those of the changeful chameleon ; and as Naqshband drew incomparable pictures of the Divine Science, and painted figures of Eternal Invention, which are not imperceptible, his followers became celebrated by the title of the Naqshbandīs, 'The Painters'. [2]

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[1] *The Religious Orders of Islam*, p. 44.

[2] Rose, *op. cit* p. 142.

Rose further observes, that, "The History of the Naqshbandī Order would be of some interest if it could be recovered, not merely because it has played an important part in Muslim thought, but also because it had not a little influence on the political vicissitudes of India, Mesopotamia, and, to a less extent, Turkey. In order to unravel some pieces of the tangled skein it is essential to set forth the spiritual pedigree of the Order." For this reason and also because its study is of more interest than of those of other Religious Orders we proceed to indicate the 'chain of succession' of this Order as given by Rose [1] with some alterations and adaptations to bring it in line with the Indian tradition of its history.

1. Muhammad
2. Abū Bakr
3. Salmānu 'l-Fārsī ; the Persian companion of Muhammad.
4. Qāsim, a son of Abū Bakr.
5. Ja'far Ṣādiq, a grandson of Qāsim from his mother's side, and the seventh Shi'a Imām
6. Bāyazīd of Bisṭām, (d. 875 A. D.) the founder of the Ṭayfūrī Khānwāda. As he was born after the death of Ja'far Ṣādiq he is believed to have been spiritually instructed by him. The living medium is said to have been an Indian, one Abū 'Ali of Sind.
7. Abu'l-Ḥasan Kharqānī (d. 1033-34 A. D.). He was born after the death of Bāyazīd and hence is said

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[1] *Ibid* Appendix I. p. 435.

to have been spiritually instructed by him. Some writers give as an alternative to Abu'l-Ḥasan, the name of Abu'l-Qāsim Gurgānī.

8. Shaykh 'Alī Fārmadī (d. 1078 A. D.). He was a contemporary of 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī, who has spoken highly of him in his *Kashfu'l-Maḥjūb*.

9. Khwāja Abū Yūsuf Hamadānī (d. 1140 A. D.). One of his disciples was Aḥmad Yasawī, a saint of great importance. He takes his title from Yasī, or Haḍrat-i-Yasī, as it was commonly called, place on the north of Tāshkand on the road to Orenburg. Aḥmad Yasawī founded a school of mystic, to which in the fourth generation belonged Ḥākim 'Atā, the founder of the Bakhtashiyya and patron saint of Jānissaries.

10. Khwāja 'Abdu'l-Khāliq Ghujdawānī (d. 1179-80 A. D.). He was born at Ghujdawān, six *farsakh* from Bukhārā. MSS. of his works still exist, but little really is known about him, except that he studied under the above-mentioned Shaykh Abū Yūsuf. It was he who formulated the first eight of the eleven rules, to be described below, which constitute the *ṭariqa* of the Khwājas. According to Hartman, 'Abdu'l-Khāliq was taught the *ḥabs-i-dam* or restraining of the breath by Khiḍr, practice common to one of the forms of the Yoga.

11. Khwāja 'Arif Rewgarī. The saint took his title from Rewgar a place in the neigbourhood of Bukhārā. His death is assigned to the year 1315-16 A. D. but as his *pīr* died in 1179-80 A. D. he must have either lived to a very old age or like other saints of

this Order, received his instruction spiritually from the departed *pīr*.

12. Khwāja Maḥmūd Anjīr Faghnawī. The last name is derived from Faghna a place in the neighbourhood of Bukhārā, where he was born. There is much uncertainty about the date of his death, which is assigned to any year between 1272 and 1316 A. D.

13. Khwāja 'Azīzān Shaykh 'Alī Ramitanī (d. 1306 or 1321 A. D.). Ramitan is also a place near Bukhāra.

14. Khwāja Muḥammad Bābā Samāsī (d. 1340 or 1354 A. D.). He was born in Samāsī a dependency of Ramitan, lying three *farsakh* from Bukhāra.

15. Khwāja Amīr Sayyid Kulāl Sokharī (d. 1371) A. D.). Sokhar, two *farsākhs* from Bukhārā, was the place where he was born and buried. He worked as a potter (*kulāl*).

16. Khwāja Bahāu'd-Dīn Naqshband. The founder of the Order was born in 1318 A. D. in *Qaṣr-i-Arifān*, two miles from Bukhārā, where he also died and was buried in 1389 A. D. at the age of 73.[1]

Prior to the time of Bahā'u'd-Dīn the school of Mystics, with which, as we have shown, his name is closely linked was known by the name of *Ṭarīqa-i-Khwājagān*, but since his days it has been called *Ṭarīqa-i-Naqshbandiyya*.

In the above pedigree we have shown that the most of its saints lived in the neighbourhood of Bukhārā. It is also noticeable that there were several breaks in the continuity of its line of succession. But it is held that, since there is vital communion between all the saints, dead or alive, a Shaykh and his predecessor need not be contemporaries. One may receive as real an authority from a saint who died several centuries ago, as from one who may be living in one's life-time. In other words, the succession consists rather in conformity to the spirit of the Shaykh than in mere formal adherence to one's *pīr*. Further, in this Order there appears a progressive development of its doctrine, and that, for the most part, in keeping with the teaching of orthodox Islam. In consequence, of all the Ṣūfī Orders, this one is the most orthodox in its practice.

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[1] See Rose, *The Darvishes*, Appendix I. pp. 435-6 and also *Khazinatu'l-Asfiya*, (Nawalkishor, Cawnpore ; Vol II pp. 517-548 *Hadratu'l-Quds* (Manzil-i-Naqshbandiyya, Lahore).

As has been mentioned more than once, this is one of the very few Orders which traces its line of succession to Abū Bakr. This has been done perhaps, to safeguard it against the intrusion of the idea that Islam has an esoteric aspect. Such a notion has been the fruitful source of many 'innovations' in Islam, and is a common feature of most of the religious sects and Darwish Orders which claim 'Alī as their head.

The orthodoxy of the followers of this Order does not permit them to practise *Dhikr-i-jalī* which is recited aloud, but *Dhikr-i-khafī*, repeated in a low voice.

There are eleven rules which a Naqshbandī is required to observe. The first eight, as stated, were devised by 'Abdu'l-Khāliq and the last three by Bahā'u'd-Dīn. They are as follows :

1. *Hosh dar dam.* 'Awareness while breathing.' Not a breath may be inhaled or exhaled in the state of forgetfulness of the Divine Presence.

2. *Naẕar bar qadam.* 'Watching the steps.' A Ṣūfī in walking should always have his eyes on his footsteps. This he is directed to do in order to restrain his mind from wandering, and to be able to concentrate his attention on the Divine Presence.

3. *Safar dar waṭan.* 'Journey within one's own land.' A Ṣūfī should always keep in mind that he is making a 'journey' from human to angelic stages.

4. *Khilwat dar anjuman.* 'Ability to enjoy solitude even while in an assembly.' Here the aim is to achieve such power of concentration that, while busy in the affairs of the world, one may be able to meditate upon God.

5. *Yād karo.* 'Remember.' Never forget the aim which a Ṣūfī has chosen in his life. Sometimes it is said to mean remembering the *dhikr* which one has learnt from the *pīr*.

6. *Bāz gasht.* 'Restraint.' While practising the *dhikr*, the Ṣūfī should stop at short intervals and say some extemporary prayers or repeat the following words: 'O Lord, Thou only art my goal. I renounce the benefits of this world and of the world to come for Thine own sake; bestow upon me Thy blessings and grant me Thy vision.'

7. *Nigāh dāsht.* 'Be watchful.' The Ṣūfī is asked to shut out the affections of the mind. It also means

that the mind is to guard against the intrusions of evil thought.

8. *Yād dāsht.* 'Recollect.' To concentrate upon the Divine Presence without the aid of words or ideas.

9. *Wuqūf-i-Zamānī.* 'Temporal Pause'. To examine how one has spent one's time.

10. *Wuqūf-i-'Adadī.* 'Numbering Pause'. To know whether the formula of *dhikr* has been repeated as many times as directed by the *pīr.*

11. *Wuqūf-i-Qalbī.* 'Heart Pause'. To form in the mind a picture of one's heart with the word Allah engraved upon it in Arabic characters.

CHAPTER XI

The Chishti Order.

KHWAJA MU'INU'D-DIN CHISHTI

The Chishtī Order was the first important religious Order to be established in India. It was founded by Kh̲wāja Abū Isḥāq Shāmī Chishtī, a brief description of whose life has already been given in the preceding chapter, and was introduced into this country by Kh̲wāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī Sanjarī Ajmerī, who was eighth in the line of succession from the founder of the Order. He was born in the town of Sanjar in Sistān 1142-43 A. D., or according to other authorities, in 1136 A. D. He traced his descent on his mother's side from Ḥasan, and on his father's side from Ḥusayn, the grandsons of Muhammad. His ancestors for several generations were reputed to be mystics, for this reason his own inclination to mysticism, signs of which appeared in his early youth, might be said to be hereditary. At the death of his father, whom he lost when he was only fourteen years old, he received as his portion of the inheritance a garden and a mill-stone, and these were his only means of subsistence.

When he was still young, his native place Sanjar was sacked by Tartars, and the sight of the massacre and awful atrocities committed by the invaders probably intensified his feeling that the world was a place of vanity. This impression was the more deeply engraved upon his mind by his contact with a certain Shaykh Ibrāhīm Qandozī, who was held in high esteem for the sanctity of his life and because he was subject to state of ecstasy. It was to him that Mu'inu'd-Dīn owed his violent experience of 'conversion', whereby he finally broke away from the world and adopted the life of a recluse. It is stated that once when Mu'īnu'd-Dīn was watering the plants of his garden., Shaykh Ibrāhīm Qandozī happened to pass by. On seeing him, Mu'īnu'd-Dīn ran out and with great respect conducted him into his garden and presented to him some of its choicest fruits. Shaykh Ibrāhīm, pleased at his warm hospitality, is said to have transmitted to him his own deep spiritual vitality. There was thus effected, in one instant by a symbolic operation, a complete and lasting transformation in Mu'īnu'd-Dīn's life. This sacramental act of 'transmission' was performed by an outward sign connected with a piece of bread, which Ibrāhīm, taking out of his wallet first chewed and then handed to Mu'īnu'd-Dīn for him to eat. This bread having been in close contact with the holy man was believed to possess supernatural power, and is said to have acted like magic, imparting to him, in an instant, all spiritual knowledge, with the result that he at once resolved to renounce whatever worldly possessions he had. He therefore sold all that belonged to him and whatever he realized thereby he distributed among the poor.

This is the only occasion when Shaykh Ibrāhīm's name is mentioned in connection with Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, but we shall not be far wrong if we surmise that the young boy of Sanjar, with his inborn religious disposition, must have met his fellow-townsman more than once, for the man had a great reputation as a very spiritually-minded person. What passed in the mind of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn in that hour of his deep spiritual experience when he met the holy man in his garden must remain a secret shrouded in mystery, such as veils the experience of many lives as being too sacred to disclose. The incident, however, illustrates the fact that contact with a saintly person increases the fervour of one's spiritual life, and in this way stimulates one's love towards God. The story of a great change in Mu'īnu'd-Dīn's life, as described by his biographers, also illustrates incidently the striking belief of Muslim mystics that spiritual vitality can be transmitted through some material substance, which has been in intimate contact with the person of a holy man. Thus saliva, or any portion of food that has been chewed by such persons, is regarded as surcharged with spiritual power that has emanated from themselves.

However that may be, Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, after his complete renunciation of the world, entered upon the life of a wandering hermit in search of a spiritual guide. First he spent a couple of years in Samarqand to complete his religious education, and then he went to Bukhārā for further study of the Quran under the guidance of Mawlānā Ḥisāmu'd-Dīn Bukhārī, a mystic and renowned exponent of the Muslim scriptures. Eventually he came to Hārūn, a town in the province of Nīshāpūr, where he was formally initiated as a disciple of Khwāja 'Uthmān Hārūnī, a famous saint of the Chishtī Order. After he had served his master for a long time—how long the authorities differ, though some make it a period of twenty years—he was appointed as his vice-gerent and directed to go to India. Some biographers mention that it was the Prophet Muhammad himself who, in a vision, asked him to go to India as his representative and convert the idolaters to the faith of Islam. In any case Khwāja Muʻīnu'd-Dīn taking leave of his spiritual master, started out on his long journey which was to end finally at Ajmer in India.

To appreciate the spiritual merit said to have been acquired by Muʻīnu'd-Dīn on his journey, it is necessary to remember that, according to Ṣūfī doctrine, mysticism does not merely consist of knowledge to be acquired but includes power and illumination that may be gained through personal contact with living saints. Such spiritual power and illumination may also be sought and received at the tomb of a departed saint. The Ṣūfī in other words, believes literally in 'the communion of saints'. That 'Friends of God' do not die, is a part of his creed. To him this means communion with all saints, whether still alive and waiting for the call of their Beloved, or departed to enjoy that eternal union with God for which, while alive, they had denied themselves the riches of this world and despised the rewards of paradise and the torments of hell. Consequently the degree of the spiritual sanctity of a mystic is often determined by the number of saints with whom he has actually come in contact, and the number of shrines he has visited.

The hagiographers of Islam, anxious to enhance the sanctity and degree of spiritual power of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, describe at length how he met all the famous saints of that period and visited all the shrines, in the course of his long journey from Nīshāpūr to Ajmer. First he came to Baghdād, where he is said to have met the great Ghawth 'Abdu' l-Qādir Gīlānī, the founder of the Qādirī Order. There he also met Abū'n-Najīb Suhrawardī and his son and successor Shihābu'd-Dīn the most renowned saints of the Suhrawardī Order. Thus Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, though belonging to the Chishtī Order, was also endowed with the spiritual gifts of these other two famous religious Orders, Qādiriyya and Suhrawardiyya. Then passing through Hamadān and Tabriz he met in turn Shaykh Abū Yūsuf Hamadānī, and Abū Sa'īd Tabrizī. The former was a mystic of great fame, and the latter was the spiritual teacher of the renowned saint Mawlānā Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī, author of *Mathnawī*. Again, in Isfahān he met Khwāja Qutbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, then in search of a spiritual guide. This man was destined to be his own famous disciple and spiritual successor in India. Passing through Meḥna, he visited the tomb of the saint Abū Sa'īd Abū'l-Khayr, and in Khirqān he visited the tomb of Abū'l-Ḥasan Khirqānī. Then, when he came to Astrābād he met Shaykh Naṣīru'd-Dīn, another saint with a great reputation. In Herāt, he stopped for some time at the tomb of Imām 'Abdu'llāh Anṣārī, who had been a companion of the Prophet. Leaving Herāt he came to a place known as Sabzwār, where the first incident in demonstration of his spiritual power is said to have taken place. This was connected with the miraculous conversion of Muhammad Yādgār, the Governor of that place. This man was notorious for his bad conduct, and had acquired great wealth by extortion. As Mu'īnu'd-Dīn passed through his territory he happened to enter his garden, and there spread out his carpet by the tank to rest. Yādgār's servants requested him to quit the place and to take shelter somewhere else, explaining that their master, the owner, was shortly expected, and if he found him in his garden he would deal severely with him and might possibly drive him out with insult. Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, however, would not be persuaded to leave the garden, either by entreaties or by threats. In the meantime the Governor appeared on the scene and advanced towards Mu'īnu'd-Dīn in a threatening attitude, but as soon as he met the steady gaze of his serious eyes, fear and trembling seized hold of him, and he saw so clearly the evil state of his own sinful soul, that he was filled with dread of eternal punishment. The narrative goes on to say that in the silence that followed a battle went on in the Governor's soul, the issue of which wrought a tremendous change in him. The once haughty man, now repentant for his past sins and resolved to make amends for the future, threw himself at the feet of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, and in words like those of Zacchaeus said: "Master, I repent of all my evil deeds, and promise that whatever I have acquired by unjust method, I will return with compensation; and in expiation of my past iniquities I will bestow the rest of my goods on the poor. And do thou accept me as one of thy disciples." Then Mu'īnu'd-Dīn shared with him a cup of water, drinking half himself and giving the rest to him. In the performance of this sacramental act he is said to have transmitted some of his own spiritual power to the new disciple. The effect of the water thus drunk was instantaneous, for we are told that a radical change came over the man, his heart was illuminated and the former notorious sinner was changed into a saint. In accordance with his declaration he sold all that he had, compensated those he had injured, and distributed what was left to the poor. Finally, he set at liberty all his slaves. The proud Governor, now a humble disciple divested of all his worldly encumbrances, accompanied his new master as far Ḥiṣār Shādmān where, after receiving his final instructions, he remained as his vice-gerent, seeking to lead others into the mystic path.

Leaving Balkh, Mu'īnu'd-Dīn passed on his way through numerous towns and cities, visiting shrines meeting the leading saints and scholars of his time, working miracles, turning sinners into saints, and converting into Islam here a group of Magi and there a village of idolaters. Advancing thus like a victor who subdues his opponents and receives homage from his adherents, Mu'īnu'd-Dīn entered India and marching over the frontier came to the Punjab, which had already been conquered and subdued by invaders from the North. In Lahore he spent some time in meditation at the tomb of Dātā Ganj Bakhsh. At the distance of a yard from the grave of this saint a small structure is pointed out as the site of the hut occupied by Mu'īnu'd-Dīn during his residence at the tomb. From Lahore he went to Delhi, where through his miracles he is said to have converted many Hindus to the faith of Islam. Eventually in 1165-66 A.D. he reached Ajmer which was destined to be his last resting place, and the Mecca of the members of the Chishtī Order throughout the world.

The narrative of his early residence in Ajmer is embellished with stories of supernatural events, such as miracles performed by himself, but these have not the slightest historical value. Nevertheless we give a brief description of some of these here, so as to acquaint the reader with Muslim ideas of this renowned saint.

In Ajmer he came into conflict with the ruling prince, Rāja Prithvī Rāj, who resented his entrance into his dominion, and a struggle followed between the saint and the court magicians. The discomfiture of the Rāja's magicians before the miraculous power of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn is described in terms no less striking and impressive than those used of the men who opposed Moses in the court of Pharaoh.

On first entering the city the spot selected by Mu'īnu'd-Dīn as a resting place happened to be the place reserved for the Rāja's camels, and he was not allowed to stay there. The saint, after pronouncing a curse on the camels, which deprived them of the power to rise from the ground, took shelter under a tree on the banks of lake Anāsāgar. The following morning the drivers found that the camels could not be made to stand up. Concluding that this mishap was the result of the discourtesy which they had shown to the saint, they sought him out and apologised for their rudeness, and begged him to restore the camels to their normal state. Instantly at a sign from Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, the camels recovered their power and stood up. News of this miracle soon spread throughout the city, so that everybody was talking about it. The Rāja thus hearing of the intrusion of a Muslim mendicant into his territory became exceedingly angry and ordered his expulsion. When a body of soldiers approached the saint with a view to carrying out their master's orders, he, like Muhammad on the occasion of his memorable flight to Medina, took up a handful of dust and threw it over them. This imitation of the Prophet's act resulted in similar disastrous consequences, some of the soldiers being struck with blindness, others with paralysis. Rendered powerless by the miraculous act of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, they invoked his help and were quickly restored to their normal condition, on accepting Islam. Physical force having failed to expel him from his territory, the Rāja strove to overthrow this champion of Islam in intellectual combat, hoping that by this means Mu'īnu'd-Dīn would acknowledge his defeat and leave the country crestfallen. Consequently on the following morning Rām Dev, the royal *mahant*, together with hundreds of leading *pandits*, was ordered to meet Mu'īnu'd-Dīn in religious debate. One glance from the saint was sufficient to disclose to the *mahant* the falsity of his own polytheistic beliefs, and to reveal to him the truth and beauty of Islam. Thus conquered and subdued he became a Muslim. Thereupon Mu'īnu'd-Dīn drank some water from a cup and passed it on to the *mahant* for him to finish. When he had done so a miraculous change came over him, his heart was illuminated, and he sought to be admitted into the saint's discipleship. Mu'īnu'd-Dīn performed the usual rites of initiation and changed his name from Rām Dev to Shādī Dev. According to some biographers, his former name was not Dev but Deo, the latter meaning an *evil spirit.* Thus it came about that he is believed by some to be still alive as a supernatural being, and persons supposed to be possessed of evil spirits invoke his name during the annual *'urs* of the saint at Ajmer. In writing these two names in Persian character there is of course no difference between Dev and Deo, and it is most probable that this peculiar belief about Rām Dev first arose through a confusion in the reading of his name.

The Rāja's discomfiture was now complete. He had failed to vanquish the saint through the help of his soldiers, who indeed had proved traitors to his cause; the royal *mahant* had not only ignominously failed him but had himself fallen a victim to the power of the Muslim beggar. Alarmed at Mu'īnu'd-Din's supernatural power, the Rāja next sought the assistance of Jaypāl Jogī, the chief magician of the court. Muslim narrators at this point give the most extraordinary account of the conflict which is supposed to have taken place between Mu'īnu'd-Dīn and this magician: in fact the story of the display of supernatural power on both sides surpasses even the wonders of Egypt during the time of Moses.

Jaypāl, accompanied by a thousand of his disciples, advanced to meet Mu'īnu'd-Dīn in a combat which was to be conducted by invisible forces, and as his first precautionary measure, he took control of lake Anāsāgar, and so cut off the water supply of the saint and his followers. His object in doing this was not merely to deprive the Muslims of water to drink, but more especially to prevent them from performing their legal ablutions, without which, Jaypāl evidently was aware, prayers offered as a protection against the evil influence of the black art would be ineffective. Shādī Dev, the new convert to Islam, acting under the orders of Mu'īnu'd-Din, somehow managed to get a bucketful of water from the lake. He had no sooner carried out the order, than the water of the entire lake, and of all the wells and water-reservoirs in Ajmer became absolutely dry. When the distress of the people through lack of water became very great, Jaypāl approached Mu'īnu'-Dīn and thus addressed him, "You pretend to be a holy man, and yet you deliberately permit men, women and children to suffer the torments of thirst; such callousness is not in keeping with your pretensions." Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, moved by his rebuke, ordered the contents of the bucket to be poured back into the lake, and instantly the water supply of Ajmer was restored to its normal proportions. Then ensued a series of magical attacks initiated by Jaypāl, but these were all repelled by the efficacy of the saint's prayers. To mention only a few by way of illustration: hundreds of ferocious animals and reptiles, such as lions, tigers, snakes, scorpions, etc. would appear from all directions at the command of the royal magician, and dart towards Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, but they disappeared as soon as they touched the magic circle which the saint had drawn round himself and his disciples. Then fire would descend from above, reducing all the neighbouring trees to ashes, but not a spark would enter in the protective circle. Failing in such displays of his magical art, Jaypāl then spread out his carpet of deer skin, and seating himself thereon, flew high into the air, but Mu'īnu'd-Dīn despatched his wooden clog after him, which beat him and drove him down to earth again. Thus defeated and humiliated, Jaypāl accepted Islam, and was re-named 'Abdu'llāh'. He then requested Mu'īnu'd-Dīn to pray for him that he might remain alive till the day of judgment. The saint assured him that the favour would be granted, but informed him that on the expiration of the natural length of life, he would become invisible. This story accounts for the belief which is current among the devotees of Mu'īnu'd-

Dīn that Jaypāl, or ‘Abdu'llāh is still alive in Ajmer, and that when pilgrims to the shrine lose their path it is he who guides them, and when they are in distress it is he who helps them. In consequence, it is a common practice among the pilgrims at Ajmer to invoke him by the name of ‘Abdu‘llāh Bayābānī i. e., ‘Abdu'llāh of the wilderness, it being supposed that he haunts the wilderness in the neighbourhood of Ajmer.

Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, thus triumphant over all the devices of the Rāja, was now permitted to reside in Ajmer peacefully and even to start making disciples. Nevertheless biographers state that, after some time, the Rāja began to persecute his disciples, and, in particular, to oppose plans for the conversion of Hindus to Islam. Mu‘īnu'd-Dīn exasperated at the behaviour of the Rāja, is said to have ejaculated in words that were meant to indicate the supreme authority granted to him by God over India: "I herewith hand over Prithvī Rāj alive into the hands of king Shihābu'd-Dīn!" It is said that a few days later this fact actually befell him for it was in 1192 A. D. the year in question, that Sultan Shihābu'd-Dīn Muhammad Ghorī marched from Ghor with a large army to fight against the Rāja. A decisive battle was fought at Sirhind in which the Rāja was defeated and taken prisoner. Shihābu'd-Dīn attributing his victory to the blessing of the saint, came to Ajmer to pay him his respects, and while there he transformed the great temple into a mosque in the brief space of two and a half days. It is for this reason that the building, as it stands to-day, is called *Dhā'i Din kā Jhoṇprā*, the two-and-a-half-day structure.

Shihābu'd-Dīn at the conclusion of his campaign appointed one of his slaves named, Quṭbu'd-Dīn, to be his viceroy in Delhi, and this man, on the death of his master, founded the Slave Dynasty.

It appears that Mu'īnu'd-Dīn remained a celibate even to old age, but eventually he married, though his age at the time cannot be stated with certainty. The Muslim narrators make him out to have been eighty-nine years old, and say that he took two wives by whom he had four children. There is undoubtedly some discrepancy about his age, and in any case chronology is not a strong point with these biographers. It seems clear, however, that his wedded life began after the conquest of Ajmer by Shihābu'd-Dīn. His first wife was Ummatu'llāh, who, according to some, was the daughter of the Muslim Governor of the fort in Ajmer. Others, however, say that she was the daughter of some Hindu prince, and that she was taken captive at the conquest of Ajmer and presented to Mu'īnu'd-Dīn who first converted her to the faith of Islam and then married her. His second wife, 'Aṣmatu'llāh, was the daughter of a leading Muslim of that time. His first wife gave birth to a daughter only, Bībī Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl, who became renowned for her piety and austerity. She was appointed as one of the successors to Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, and was by him authorised to make disciples of women. She is one of the very few women saints of Islam to whom this privilege is said to have been granted. She was married to one Shaykh Riyāḍu'd-Dīn, by whom she had two children, both of whom died in infancy. Bībī Ḥāfiẓ Jamāl lies buried near the tomb of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn. By his second wife, 'Aṣmatu'llāh, he had three children. His first-born, Ḥsāmu'd-iDīn, mysteriously disappeared in infancy. Some Muslims say that he was a great favourite with the Abdāls, and that he joined them when a child and so was never seen again. His second son, Fakhru'd-Dīn, took to farming, and passed his life in a village some thirty miles from Ajmer, and died twenty years after his father. His third son, Abū Sa'īd, dwelt in Ajmer where he died and was buried within the shrine of Mu'īn'ud-Din, in a porch under a marble dome known as Karnātakī Dālān, (Karnatak porch). Mu'īnud-Dīn's two wives lie buried near a mosque called Masjid-i-Sandal.

Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn himself died in 1236 A. D. His tomb in Ajmer is the most celebrated of all shrines in India. On the occasion of his '*urs*, which celebrates the anniversary of his death, Muslims from every part of India make pilgrimage to it. A remarkable feature of the celebrations at this time is that of cooking rice with several other ingredients in two huge cauldrons and then the distribution of it in portions to pilgrims and visitors. This is the only shrine, so far as we know, where no Christian is permitted to enter. This restriction was imposed not very long ago owing to the careless behaviour of certain European visitors.

There are several mosques connected with the *dargāh*, one of these was built by Akbar. In it there is a *Madrasa*, largely supported by grants from H. E. H., the Nizām of Hyderabad. The Emperor Akbar became greatly devoted to the Khwāja from the time that he had a son in answer to the prayer of a Chishtī saint, Shaykh Salīm, a descendant of Bābā Farīd. This saint had taken up his abode in a cave some 23 miles from Agra. When that son, afterwards to rule as Jehāngīr, was born to Akbar, he was named Salīm after the saint, and that area in which was the cave of the saint, became transformed into the famous capital city of Akbar, Fatehpur Sikri. Akbar also made annual pilgrimage to Ajmer every year and distributed large gifts in honour of Khwāja Mu'īn'ud-Dīn.

CHAPTER XII

The Chishti Order after the death of Mu'inu'd-Din.

1. KHWAJA QUTBU'D-DIN

Two of the lesser known vice-gerents of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn founded minor sub-divisions in the Chishtī Orders. Very little is known about these men beyond their names. One was Shāh 'Abdu'llāh Karmānī of Bengal, who founded the Karmānī Order, the other was Haḍrat Pīr Karīm of Ceylon, who founded the Karīmī Order. Muslim Hagiographers are for the most part silent about their activities. We do not know that the fame of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn had, in his life-time, extended as far as Bengal and Ceylon. So that we cannot say whether these men came of set purpose to Ajmer, or whether they were merely adventurers and by chance met with Mu'īnu'd-Dīn and became his disciples. The presence, however, of large numbers of devotees of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn in Bengal to-day, is a clear indication of that country's early contact with the saint of Ajmer.

But the chief successor and heir to all the spiritual gifts of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn was Quṭbu'd-Dīn Kākī. In Islamic hagiography he is portrayed as one of the few saints who, from their very birth exhibited tokens of special divine favour, and whose subsequent spiritual dignity was foreshadowed by portents accompanying the natural development of their physical and mental life. Records of saints of this type indicate the Ṣūfī belief in the doctrine of election. Just as according to Muslim theologians God chooses the Prophets without any regard to their merits, as an especially privileged body of people to be His messengers and His friends, so, according to certain Ṣūfīs, He elects some of His saints even before their birth to be His favourites, His lovers or Beloved. Although belief in such "predestinated-saints" forms no part of early Taṣawwuf, they occupy a prominent place in Indian hagiography.

There can be no doubt, however, that miracles ascribed to their infancy, and this belief in their "pre-ordained spiritual dignity," must have been invented by their devotees long after their death, for these saints do not seem to have claimed such high privileges for themselves.

Quṭbu'd-Dīn is described as one of the favourite saints of God. He was born in 1186 A. D. at Farghana in Isfahān. Many miraculous events are said to have occurred at his birth. His biographers, describing the events of the night in which he was born, say that the whole house was illuminated with a dazzling light, and that as soon as he was born, he bowed his head in adoration to God, and continued in loud *Dhikr* till the morning. It is also related that his mother knew half the Quran by heart, and that the child, hearing her recite it had himself learnt that portion while still an infant.

We are told that he came of noble lineage though his home was not a wealthy one. He himself claimed to be a descendant of the Prophet, and his genealogical tree shows him to be the sixteenth in line from Ḥusayn, the grandson of Muhammad, and ninth from the eighth Imām directly descended from ʻAlī. It further appears that almost all his ancestors were mystics, so that the very blood of Ṣūfīs ran in his veins. Indeed, if we are to bilieve our sources, he began, in early life, to show signs of the mystic's temperament. His father died when he was a little child and he was brought up solely by his mother, a pious and God-fearing woman. There can be little doubt that he owed much of his religious discipline to the early training of his devoted mother.

He received his instruction in Taṣawwuf from several teachers. In his time Bag͟hdad was not only a centre of secular and religious learning but also of mysticism, and it was there that he studied it under its most renowned teachers, chief of whom was Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī, the founder of the order of that name. The fame of Bag͟hdād as the scene of the activities of such noted saints as Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī and ʻAbdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī, had drawn Muʻīnu'd-Dīn there while on his way to India and it was while young Quṭbu'd-Dīn was there studying that he met Muʻīnu'd-Dīn in the mosque of Abu'l-Layt͟h, and accepted his discipleship.

Soon after Muʻīnu'd-Dīn had settled down in Ajmer Quṭbu'd-Dīn left Bag͟hdād, and following the footsteps of his master, made his way towards India. As he journeyed he paid the customary visits to the tombs and shrines of the saints, and met the living Ṣūfīs of his day. In Multān he stayed for some time with Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyā and Jalalu'd-Dīn Tabrīzī, both pioneer saints of the Suhrawardī Order. His fame as a saint had already preceded his appearance in India, so that when at length he reached the Muslim capital of Delhi, having followed the routes taken by his master before him, he was hailed with every token of honour and respect. The king and the populace conducted him into the city and prevailed upon him to take up his abode there. Mu'īnu'd-Dīn hearing the news of his arrival in Delhi, appointed him his vice-gerent and permitted him to stay there.

It was during this period that the pioneer saints of the Suhrawardī order were trying to establish themselves in India. For instance, Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyā had made Multān a centre of the Order. Again, Jalālu'd-Dīn, his fellow-disciple had on the request of King Altamash, taken up his abode temporarily in Delhi, nevertheless marked preference was shown for the Chishtī Order. King Altamash himself, successor of Sultān Quṭbu'd-Dīn, the founder of the slave dynasty, by professing his allegiance to this order had given it his royal patronage, holding Quṭbu'd-Dīn his spiritual master in the highest esteem.

When the office of the chief Qāḍī in Delhi fell vacant, the king, anxious to show his regard for Quṭbu'd-Dīn offered it to him, but he declined it. Subsequently Najmu'd-Dīn Sug͟hra ,a notable scholar and close friend of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, was appointed to the office. Even so these saints who enjoyed such royal support, were from time to time victims of the intrigues and jealousy of high officials.

The following incident serves to illustrate the state of things that existed. Najmu'd-Dīn Sug͟hra was at first a friend of Quṭbu'd-Dīn, but on being promoted, from the office of the chief Qāḍī to the dignity of Shayk͟hu'l-Islām, he became very jealous of him. In particular he was jealous of his increasing popularity with the people, and exceedingly vexed at the honour in which he was held by the king. He tried every means he knew to bring discredit upon him, but failed. During a brief visit of Mu'īnu'd-Dīn to Delhi he found an opportunity to complain to him against Quṭbu'd-Dīn in words that clearly revealed his hatred. The master becoming thus apprehensive for the safety of his beloved disciple, spoke to him before leaving for Ajmer, in the following affectionate manner : "My son Quṭbu'd-Dīn! I desire that you should come along with me to Ajmer and that there, as my successor, you should exercise authority as spiritual guide." Thus Quṭbu'd-Dīn, always obedient to his master's instructions, left Delhi in the company of his master after bidding farewell, to his friends and disciples. It is said, however, that when they reached the gate of the city, the king and almost the whole population, stricken with grief followed them with loud lamentation, and urged Quṭbu'd-Dīn to return to the city. Mu'īnu'd-Dīn was deeply moved by the touching scene, and commending Quṭbu'd-Dīn to the protection of God, allowed him to return.

QUTBU'D-DIN'S TITLES.

Quṭbu'd-Dīn is known by the two titles of "Bakhtiyār" and "Kākī", which mean respectively "a friend of fortune," and a "man of cakes". The name Bakhtiyār was given to him by his master Mu'īnu'd-Dīn but how he acquired the other is variously explained. The following is the account of its origin as given by Niẓāmu'd-Dīn of Delhi who was second in the line of succession from Quṭbu'd-Dīn. He relates how that once when Quṭbu'd-Dīn was sitting near the tank known as *Shamsiya* in Delhi, some friends of his drew near and expressed a desire to eat hot cakes. The saint at once plunged his hand into the water of the tank and drew forth just such cakes as his friends desired, and from that day he came to be spoken of by this name of Kākī.

HIS DEATH.

Early biographers of Quṭbu'd-Dīn have left us a vivid account of the last days of this remarkable man. They describe how he himself selected the very spot where he desired to be buried and the stipulation he made concerning the person who alone should be allowed to wash his corpse. Towards the close of his life he named Farīdu'd-Dīn, his disciple, as his successor, though the latter was not present when the end came. One of Quṭbu'd-Dīn's last acts was to bid his disciples to make over to Farīdu'd-Dīn his robe, prayer-carpet, shoes and staff, properties which since the commencement of the order had been passed on from master to successor, and were thus regarded as holy relics.

MUSIC IN THE CHISHTI ORDER.

A characteristic feature of the mystics of this Order is their use of music, and, although according to the orthodox teaching of Islam such is forbidden to Muslims, they attach great importance to it. They call it *Samā'* literally 'hearing', but it is described by one of the saints of the Order as "the hearing of harmonious sounds which move the heart, and kindle the fire of love for God." It appears that through the influence of Quṭbu'd-Dīn the custom of holding musical festivals became very popular. The orthodox leaders were alarmed at the frequency of such assemblies. In Delhi music became the subject of fierce controversy between the guardians of the *Sharī'at* and the Ṣūfīs of this Order.

Thus the orthodox 'Ulamā petitioned King Altamash to put a stop to the use of music by exercising his royal authority, but he, embarrassed on the one hand by his loyalty to Quṭbu'd-Dīn and on the other by his regard for the law of Islam, adopted a strictly neutral attitude in the matter. But popular feeling triumphed over orthodox opposition, and it is reported that festivals of song, prolonged at times for several days, were frequently held in Delhi.

2. BABA FARID SHAKARGANJ.

The Faridi section of the Chishti Order.

Farīdu'd-Dīn Mas'ūd Shakarganj, who is popularly spoken of as Bāba Farīd, was the chief successor of

Quṭbu'd-Dīn, and the section of the Chishtī Order founded by him is known as Farīdiyya. It is said that he belonged to a noble and ancient family of Kābul. During the invasion of Chengiz Khān his grandfather Shu'ayb with his family fled from their ancestral home and took refuge in the Punjab, where he was appointed Qāḍī of Kathwāl, a town in the district of Multān. It was here that Farīdu'd-Dīn was born.

From his childhood he was deeply religious, and it is probable that in early life he was much influenced by Bāhā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyā of the Suhrawardī Order, to whom he owed all his education, though he did not accept him as his guide in the mystic way. When seventeen years' old he came in contact with Quṭbu'd-Dīn during the latter's short stay in Multān and became his disciple, receiving his initiation at his hands in the Chishtī Order. Soon after, having completed his religious and secular studies under Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyā, he followed Quṭbu'd-Dīn to Delhi. There he served his master with great zeal and fervour, and led a life of severe austerity and piety. Consequently his fame spread far and wide, and soon crowds of people began to come to him with urgent requests that he would intercede with God for them. But disliking popularity and prefering solitude, he left Delhi with his master's permission and went to reside at Hānsī. Even here he was not allowed to pass his time in quietness and so fled to Ajodhyā where he stayed for a considerable time. The last sixteen years of his life, however, were spent at Kathwāl in Multān, the scene of his early life.

Many stories are current concerning his austerity and self-mortification. He is said to be one of the few saints of Islam who have performed their prayers continuously for forty nights, and he did this hanging head downwards, suspended by the feet in a well. We are told that he used to take great care to conceal his austerities. On the occasion of the prolonged prayer just referred to, having searched diligently for some place where he could remain unnoticed, he sought the help of a friend who would tie him every night in the required position, and at the same time guard his secret closely. He found such a place in a mosque in Uchh, the *mu'adhdhin* of which agreed to hang him by his feet every night and release him before the congregational prayer at dawn.

THE ORIGIN OF HIS TITLE '*SHAKARGANJ*'.

A simple story is related in explanation of his title '*Shakarganj*'. It is said that his mother, in order to inculcate in the child the habit of performing the regular daily prayers, used to place a few sweets under his prayer-carpet as an inducement. Once she neglected to do so, but Farīd, having rolled up his carpet was not disappointed, because instead of the few sweets he expected to find there was under the carpet an abundant supply. His nickname—Heaps of Sweets—is said to rest on this story!

OTHER TITLES.

Bābā Farīd is believed to be still a wonder-working saint, and he is invoked by his devotees in time of trouble. So high indeed is the esteem in which he is held that he has been given no less than 101 titles, and these are often repeated as a charm to heal the sick, to escape affliction and to obtain one's desires. A few of these titles are as follows ; The Present, The Praised, The Perfect, The Truthful, The Patient, The Great, The Majestic, The First, The Last, The Outward, The Inward, The Land, The Ocean, The Light of God, The Sight of God, The Grace of God, The Liberality of God, The Secret of God, The Spirit of God.

It will be noticed that some of these titles are to be found in the famous Ninety-nine Beautiful Names of God, e. g., The Truth, The Great. Moreover, the titles, The First, The Last, The Outward and The Inward, are the four names especially used by Muslim mystics as attributes of God.

MARRIED LIFE AND DEATH.

He passed the greater part of his life as a celibate, but married in his old age. His first wife is said to have been Princess Huzaira, the daughter of Balban, King of Delhi. Shortly afterwards he took two more wives, who were the maid-servants presented by the king to his daughter on the occasion of her marriage to the saint. We are told that the king gave a handsome dowry and a palace to his daughter, in order that she might escape the sufferings of poverty as the wife of a hermit, but she very soon decided to share the ascetic life of her husband and consequently distributed her entire wealth to the poor. According to certain biographers Farīd had six sons and four daughters. The eldest son Shaykh Badru'd-Dīn Sulaymān, later became one of his vice-gerents, while the youngest daughter married 'Alī Aḥmad Ṣābir, of Pirān Kaliar, his own nephew and one of his chief successors.

Bābā Farīd died at the age of 93, in 1265-6 A. D. and was buried at Pāk Patan in the Punjab, where his *'urs* is celebrated every year on the 5th, Muharram. His mausoleum contains a door, called "*Bihishti Darwāza*", the Door of Paradise, which is opened only on the day of his *'urs*, on which occasion his devotees make a point of passing through it. In explanation of this name and practice it is said that once, when Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, the successor of Farīdu'd-Dīn was present at the shrine, he had a vision of Mahammad standing at this door, and saying: "O Niẓāmu'd-Dīn whosoever shall enter this door will be saved." Since then the door has been known by the name of the Door of Paradise.

CHAPTER XIII

The Nizami and Sabiri Sections of the Chishti Order

The Farīdī section of the Chishtī Order gave rise to two streams of mystical teaching associated with two famous disciples of Bābā Farīd, namely Niẕāmu'd-Dīn Maḥbūb-i-Ilāhī of Delhi and 'Alāu'd-Dīn 'Alī Aḥmad Ṣābir of Pirān Kaliar. These two sub-divisions are known respectively as the Niẕāmiyya and the Ṣābiriyya, and no section of the Chishtī order enjoys so great popularity as these two, whose adherents exceed those of any other branch.

1. THE NIZAMI SECTION OF THE CHISHTI ORDER

Niẕāmu'd-Dīn was himself born in Budaun in A. D. 1236-7 but his grandparents had come from Bukhhārā and settled down in India. His father died when he was a child of five and so he was indebted to his mother Zulaykhā for his early training. From the various accounts left to us we gather that she was a very pious woman, who exhibited extraordinary trust in God, and there can be little doubt that it was owing to her early influence that her son grew up to be spiritually-minded and in consequence became one of the renowned saints of Islam. Niẕāmu'd-Dīn proved himself to be an obedient son and showed great affection for his mother. Indeed, so strong was his attachment to her, and so great his reverence for her, that even after her death he made it a habit to visit her tomb frequently.

When twenty years old he heard of the fame of Bābā Farīd and went to Ajodhyā, where the saint was residing, and in due course he became his disciple. After he had satisfied his master with his progress in the mystic path, he was appointed his vice-gerent and sent to Delhi. Here, however, his relations with successive emperors were not happy. This was in part due to the fact that he had made it a rule never to pay a purely ceremonial visit to the royal court, and this rule he observed so strictly that even when pressure was brought to bear upon him by the emperors themselves he would not break it. Nevertheless the hostile attitude of the rulers did not prevent leading personalities of the royal court from becoming his disciples. Moreover, so great was the esteem in which he was held by the people that hundreds would come every day from far and near to seek his blessing. The defiant attitude of a person of such influence was considered by the emperors to be dangerous, and the following incident will illustrate the strained relations that were apt to exist between the king and this saint.

In pursuance of an old custom of Muslim rulers, the king, Mubārak K͟hiljī, at the appearance of a new moon used to give audience to the courtiers and the leading citizens of Delhi, and they in turn wished him happiness and prosperity for the month. Niẕāmu'd-Dīn persistently refused on these occasions to visit the king and offer the customary greeting. This was looked upon as an affront to the king, who, in consequence, threatened to take severe measures against Niẕāmu'd-Dīn if he absented himself at the next new moon. The saint on being informed of the threat, visited his mother's tomb, and after offering the usual prayers, he is reported to have said, "Dear mother, if the king is not dead by the appearance of the next moon, I shall never come to your tomb again." Now the fact is that by a strange coincidence, at the time of the appearance of the new moon, the king was put to death by a minion of his court, a low caste Hindu, who styled himself Khusrū Khān. This slave inaugurated a reign of terror but Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn Taghlak having removed him, restored order and founded a new dynasty. Even so the relation between the new king of Delhi and the saint continued to be strained. The latter's presence in Delhi was in fact as intolerable to the new Sulṭān as it had been to his predecessor. In A. D. 1325 when Sulṭān was returning from a successful expedition in Bengal, he sent word to Niẕāmu'd-Dīn to quit Delhi. The saint on receiving the royal command gave expression to the words: "*Hanoz Delhi dūr ast.*" "Delhi is still far off"—a Persian phrase which has since become popular in the sense of the English proverb, "It is a far cry to London", The king, however, was not destined to enter Delhi, and so could not summon the saint to his court, for he met an unexpected death at Taghlakabad through the fall of a pavilion erected in his honour. This tragic incident is generally believed to have been planned by Prince Jawna, who then ascended the throne as Sulṭān Muḥammad Taghlak. It has, however, been suggested that the cause of the tragedy is to be sought not in Prince Jawna, but in the hostility that existed between the king and the saint. And indeed the pavilion in question was erected by Aḥmad son of Malikzāda Ayyāz, the Inspector of Buildings, a man who was known to be an over-zealous disciple of Niẕāmu'd-Dīn. It was he who was responsible for the faulty construction, whereby the building suddenly collapsed when one of the army elephants, whose *mahawt* was a relative of his, stampeded and crashed into it.

Niẕāmu'd-Dīn is known also by the titles of *Maḥbūb-i-Ilāhī*, the Beloved of God, and Sulṭānu'l-Awaliyā the king of the Saints. He died at the age of 91 and was buried at Ghiyāthpūr in the neighbourhood of Delhi. His tomb, which is well known in that district, has recently been raised to the dignity of a monastery by late Khwāja Ḥasan Niẕamī who made it a centre of Muslim propaganda.

One of the saint's famous disciples was Amīr Khusrū, well known as one of India's great Persian poets and regarded as the Chaucer of Hindustani literature, "He was the first to employ the indigenous Urdu for literary purposes and also to compose songs and write verse in it. He was the inventer of many riddles, rhymes, enigmas, and punning verses, which are still popular. He was born in the thirteenth century in the district of Etah, and led a chequered life through the reigns of Balban, Kaiqubād and other sovereigns of Delhi. He became a distinguished disciple of Nizāmu'd-Dīn. He was deeply attached to him and died in grief in A. D. 1325 at the death of his *pīr*.

Two saints of the Nizāmī section of Chishtī Order need to have a brief mention here: Shaykh Naṣīru'd-Dīn and Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz.

Shaykh Naṣiru'd-Dīn known as *Chirāgh-i-Dihlī* was appointed by Khwāja Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā as his successor. During the period of his discipleship under Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā, he was given to much meditation and prayer, and the fame or his sanctity drew a large crowd of people to him. In order to escape them, he approached Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā with a request to be permitted to retire to some solitary spot in a wilderness or to a remote mountainous cave so that he could spend his time freely in devotion to God. Nizāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā advised him that he was to remain among people, and go through suffering. He was to gain his reward by enduring hardship and persecution.

The then reigning King Sulṭan Muhammad Taghlak, seeing the popularity of Shaykh Naṣīru'd-Dīn, became jealous, and started persecuting him. He compelled him to do menial work in his court in order to humiliate him before people. The historian Farishta and the author of Anwāru'l-'Arifīn narrate incidents which show the degree of his surrender to God and selfless devotion to Him. In this connection it is related that one day when he had finished his afternoon prayer, a beggar (*qalandar*) came seeking an interview with him. It was the time Shaykh Naṣīru'd-Dīn had set aside for uninterrupted devotion to God. He had ordered that anyone who desired audience during those hours should be given some money and dismissed. The beggar, however, insisted on seeing him and would not be persuaded to go. Shaykh Naṣīru'd-Dīn finally permitted him to be admitted in his prayer chamber. The beggar, once in his presence and left alone, stabbed him with a knife and wounded him so severely that he began to bleed profusely. As a stream of blood ran out through the threshold of the door, the attendants fearing some foul play, rushed in and stopped the beggar from inflicting further injury. Shaykh Nasīru'd-Dīn ordered fifty guineas and a horse to be given to him, and to let him get out of the town quickly. His disciples were further admonished to take care that no attempt be made to prosecute for the murderous attack. According to Farishta this incident was the cause of his death. He died in A. D. 1356 (18th of Ramdan A. H. 757). According to his instruction, his body was bathed by Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz and was buried in the tomb, which came to be known as *Chirāgh-i-Dihlī* and which can be seen near Shahjahanabad in Delhi.

Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz was the successor of Shaykh Naṣīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī. His full name with his titles is: Sayyid Ṣadru'd-Dīn Walīu'l-Akbar a'ṣ-Ṣādiq Abu'l Fataḥ Muhammad Ḥussainī Gesū Darāz Banda Nawāz, or in brief, Muhammed Ḥusaiynī of Long Tresses and Kind to his Servants. The word 'servants' here refers to his devotees. In Islamic hagiology a saint is often called Makhdūm, a master, and his disciple, khādim, a servant. The epithet *Gesū Darāz* is indicative of his manner of wearing long tresses of hair falling on his shoulders as was the custom among Sayyids. *Banda Nawāz* is a title by which he is known among his devotees. It describes the high honour in which he is held by them. He was born in Delhi in A. D. 1320. A few years later Sultan Muhammad Taghlak announced the transfer of his capital to Daulatabād in Deccan, and ordered the entire population of Delhi to move there. Sayyid Yūsuf Ḥusaynī, father of Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz, after four months' journey, reached Deccan and chose a spot on a hill north of Daulatabād for his residence, which later came to be known as Khuladabād, perpetual city or paradise. Other disciples of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā who also had been compelled to leave Delhi adopted it as a seat of their residence. Sayyid Yūsuf Ḥusaynī who was populary known as Sayyid Rāja was a disciple of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā. Sayyid Gesū Darāz was ten years old when his father died in A.D. 1324 and was buried in the courtyard of his house in Khuladabād. When he was fifteen years old his mother, Sayyid Rānī, came to Delhi with her two sons. Shaykh Naṣīru'd-Dīn was still alive in Delhi. Sayyid Gesū Darāz, from his early childhood, was an admirer of him for his sanctity. Once in Delhi he determined to became his disciple. On one Friday, he, with his brother Sayyid Chandan

Ḥusaynī, presented himself before Shaykh Nasīru'd-Dīn and desired to become his disciple. Young though he was along with his elder brother Sayyid Chandan Ḥusaynī he was received in the discipleship of Khwāja Naṣīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dilhī through the usual ceremony of initiation. Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz was thirty-six years old when Shaykh Nasīru'd-Dīn died and became his successor.

In A. D. 1398 the news came that Timūr, after destroying Attok, was marching towards Delhi. Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz left Delhi and decided to go to Deccan. Sultan Firoz Shāh Bahmanī was then reigning in Deccan. He received him with great honour and brought him to Gulbarga. Sayyid Gesū Darāz thus chose it for his residence and he lived there till he died in A. D. 1422.

Sayyid Gesū Daraz had two sons and three daughters. Sayyid Ḥusaynī known as Sayyid Muhammad Akbar Ḥusaynī was the eldest, and Sayyid Yūsuf, known as Sayyid Muhammad Asghar, was the younger. Sayyid Muhammad Akbar Ḥusaynī was adept in esoteric and exoteric knowledge of Islam. His writings on Ṣūfī teachings are a mine of information on the subject, especially his book *Sharaḥ Tabṣiratu'l-Iṣtiliḥātu'ṣ-Ṣūfiya*, an explanation of Ṣūfī terminology which is indispensible to those who desire an understanding of the Ṣūfi doctrine. Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz in his life time appointed his son Sayyid Muhammad Akbar Ḥusaynī as his successor. He, however. died seven months later, in A. D. 1409. His tomb and that of his mother are under a separate dome across from the shrine in which his father lies buried. Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz spoke highly of the ability and scholastic knowledge of his son, Sayyid Muhammad Akbar Ḥusaynī. In one of his writings he has said : "No disciple has proved himself to be better than his '*pīr*', except two. One was Quṭubu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī who was better than Shaykh Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Sanjarī, and the other Muhammad Akbar who was better than I".

Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz, towards the end of his life, appointed Sayyid Yūsuf Ḥusaynī as his successor. He was known as Sayyid Asghar Ḥusaynī. After his death he was buried by the side of his father's tomb.

Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz, it is said, lived to an old age of one hundred and five. He was a prolific writer. The number of books that he wrote are said to be one hundred and five, equal to the number of years he lived. If the report is correct, then they all are not now existent. The books which are still available, however, are large in number, and are being published by the Committee of Dargāh at Gulbarga. Every one of his writings is a classic on the subject of Ṣūfism and on Islamic doctrine. It is said that no other saint of Chishtī Order has written so large an amount of literature on the teachings of Islamic mysticism and doctrine as Sayyid Muhammad Gesū Darāz.

In course of time the Niẓāmī section of the Chishtī Order gave rise to two further groups which are indigenous in India and Pakistan, and to which we shall refer briefly.

(i) HISAMIYYA.

The Ḥisāmī section was founded by Ḥisāmu'd-Dīn of Mānikpūr (d. 1477-8 A. D.) This man was a successor of Shaykh Nūru'd-dīn otherwise known as Quṭb-i-'Ālam, the son and successor of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn of Bengal. This 'Alā'u'd-Dīn was a successor of Sirāju'd-Dīn, one of the pioneer saints of the Chishtī order in Bengal, and a vice-gerent of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn.

(ii) HAMZA SHAHI.

The Hamza Shāhī section was founded by Shaykh Hamza, one of the descendants of Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyā of Multān, a famous saint of the Suhrawardī Order. Before he became a Ṣūfī, Hamza was in the service of the royal guard. One night while on duty the thought suddenly occurred to him. "How shameful it is for me to forget Him who is protecting me every moment of my life merely to serve one who rather needs to be protected by me". In consequence he resigned his post on the following day and adopted the life of a hermit. Hamza's line is traced back through Gesū Darāz and Naṣīru'd-Dīn, to Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā of Delhi. A brief reference has already been made to these two saints.

2. THE ṢABIRI SECTION OF THE CHISHTĪ ORDER.

Makhdūm 'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Alī Aḥmad Ṣābir of Pirān-i-Kaliar was born in Herāt in 1197-8 A. D. His father died when he was only seven years old, and his mother, because of their extreme poverty, took him to her own brother Bābā Farīd, with whom she left him. When he grew to manhood Bābā Farīd appointed him to supervise his *langar k͟hānā* or public kitchen. Subsequently his mother came again from Herāt to see her son, and was very grieved to find him so much reduced. She accordingly complained to Bābā Farīd about his neglect of her son. When Bābā Farīd made inquiry as to the cause of his starved appearance, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn replied, "I was asked to supervise the kitchen but I was not told if I myself might eat from it." On receiving this explanation the saint was overjoyed at the scrupulousness of his nephew, and forthwith bestowed on him the title of Ṣābir, or the Patient one, in recognition of his power of endurance. Later Bābā Farīd appointed him as his successor, and sent him to Kaliar. There he was ill-treated by the people, and on a particular Friday when he went to the mosque to take part in the congregational prayer, he was forced out of the main building into the courtyard. His biographers would have us believe that, as a direct consequence of their rudeness to the saint, the entire mosque suddenly collapsed, crushing to death many hundreds of worshippers assembled within it. A yet further punishment, in the form of an epidemic of plague, destroyed vast numbers of the population of Kaliar, with the result that the survivors fled from the city in terror. The city thus depopulated was changed in course of time into a forest, and the abandoned houses falling into ruins became the dens of wild animals. It was in this desolate place that 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Ṣābir spent his days in a small hut beneath a fig tree, with his disciple Shamsu'd-Dīn Turk as his sole companion. It was this disciple who succeeded him after his death.

'Alā'u'd-Dīn Ṣābir is said to have possessed so terrifying a disposition that no one dared come near him; even his disciple would serve his meals from behind, never venturing to confront him. Like other saints of the Chishtī Order, 'Ala'u'd-Dīn was fond of music, but the musicians whom Shamu'd-Dīn was in the habit of employing, took care to seat themselves at a considerable distance from the saint while they sang. After twenty years of such solitary existence the saint died in 1291 A. D. His *'urs* is celebrated on 13th. Rabī'u'l-Awwal, pilgrims coming to Kaliar from different parts of India. The extreme loneliness of his life accounts for our lack of some contemporary account of himself and his teaching. Such biographical narratives as we have abound with stories of supernatural events, many of which border on the absurd.

'Alā'u'd-Dīn's gloomy disposition and irascible temperament stand out in bold contrast to Niẕāmu'd-Dīn's amiable nature and wide popularity. Indeed, it is these characteristic features in their respective dispositions that have led some Ṣūfīs to formulate the theory that the two saints represented two different aspects of the attributes of Allah. Niẕāmu'd-Dīn's life exhibited the *Jamālī* i. e., the Glorious Attributes, while 'Alā'u'd-Dīn gave expression to the *Jalālī*, or the terrible Attributes, of

God. The former, by his sympathy and generosity drew thousands to himself, whereas the latter, largely owing to his terrifying personality, so isolated himself from the human society that he lived and died in the company of one lone disciple. Niẓāmu'd-Dīn may be looked upon as the archetype of that class of Ṣūfīs known as *Ahl-i-Ṣuḥbat*, 'associates', and 'Alā'u'd-Dīn may as that of *Ahl-i-Khilwat*, 'recluses'.

CHAPTER XIV

The Chishti Order in The West

Pīr 'Ināyat Khān carried the Niẓāmī section of the Chishti Order to Europe and founded a centre of Ṣūfī teaching there. He later toured in America lecturing on its mysteries. Born in Baroda on the 7th of May 1882, in his earlier life he was solely devoted to Indian music, and came to be acknowledged as its master by all the celebrated artists and Indian poets of his day. Naturally gifted in music, a talent inherited from his maternal grandfather, Professor Maulā Bakhsh who had married a daughter of Tipu Sultan, and was the founder of the Academy of Music in Baroda, he worked under the patronage of Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaekwad of Baroda. Professor Maulā Bakhsh seeing his grandson 'Ināyat's talents, which he began to display when he was hardly eighteen years of age, introduced him to the Darbar of Maharaja Sayaji Rao. 'Ināyat Khān once recited a hymn of Shri Ganesha in Sanskrit in the *rāg* (tune) known as *Hanasadhāvanī*, before the Maharaja who, being delighted with his musical talent, rewarded him with a valuable necklace and a scholarship.

Pīr 'Ināyat Khān was not only a musical genius but also a great linguist. Besides having full command over several Indian languages, he had proficient knowledge of Arabic, Persian and Sanskrit. The last named was studied under Shri Kanshikatam Mehta, a famous

Sanskrit scholar of Gujarat. His subsequent long stay in Europe enabled him to converse in several European languages.

Pīr 'Ināyat Khān, when only eighteen years of age, started touring India. From 1900 to 1910 he travelled in every part of the land and also visited Burma and Ceylon. Everywhere he went he was enthusiastically received as a great master-musician and a thinker. It was his visit in Hyderabad Deccan, that brought a change in his life. There he met his *Murshid*, Khwāja Sayyid Muḥammad Abū Hāshim al-Madanī, who initiated him in his Order, and blessed him saying: "Be thou blessed with the Divine Light and illuminate the beloved ones of Allah." Abū Hāshim al-Madanī was seventeenth in the line of succession counting from Khwāja Naṣīru'd-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Dihlī, the successor of Niẓamu'd-Dīn Awliyā. Pīr 'Ināyat stayed in Hyderabad for five years. From there he went to Ajmer to visit the shrine of Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn, the founder of the Chishti Order in India. He spent two more years travelling in India before leaving for the West.

His lectures as well as his music were now different. He was always mystical, and had an element of yearning for God in his music but now there was more of impassioned style in it. After he had been to Ajmer, he went to Calcutta where he gave a series of lectures on mystical songs of music and vocal and instrumental demonstrations of his art. These lectures were arranged in University Hall under the auspices of Sir Gurudas Bannerjee, Sir Rabindra Nath Tagore, and others. Here he received the title of 'Morning Star of Indian Musical Revival'.

In 1910 Pīr 'Ināyat K͟hān first visited America with his brother Maḥbūb K͟hān and his cousin 'Alī K͟hān. His first lecture in that country with demonstrations of Indian music was delivered in Columbia University, New York city. His lectures on Ṣūfism received greater appreciation evidently than his music. The Americans, according to him, regarded the Indian music as "a museum of antiquities at which one would not mind looking once for curiosity." In San Francisco he was welcomed by Swami Trigunatita and Swami Pramananda of Ram Krishna Mission.

It is probable that it was during his first visit to America that he married the American lady, Ora Ray Baker, who probably was a Methodist in her Church affiliation. She had accepted Islam and taken the name of Amina Begum. She was a cousin of Mary Baker Eddy, the founder of Christian Science. She died in 1949. His eldest child, a daughter, Nuru'n Nisā. born in 1914, was killed in the second World War as a German prisoner. His son Vilāyat K͟hān born in 1916, who is now his successor, is married to an English lady. His second son, Hidāyat K͟hān. married a Dutch lady, Leni Flentgi. Pīr 'Ināyat K͟hān's brother, Maḥbūb K͟hān also married a Dutch lady, Gertrude Cornelia van Goens, who took the name Shādmānī at her marriage when she accepted Islam.

From America Pīr 'Ināyat K͟hān went to England and France and thence to Russia where he says: "The warmth that came from the heart of the people kept us warm in that cold country," At the outbreak of World War I in 1914 he returned to England and remained there till 1920. From Great Britain he went to France and visited Switzerland. His headquarters for the Ṣūfī movement were established in Geneva. He later settled at Suresnes, near Paris in France. In 1921 he visited Holland. "The people in Holland", he says, "are of democratic spirit, and I saw in them a love of spiritual ideals. By nature they are straightforward, deeply inclined towards religion, lovers of justice, and seekers after truth. They hunger and thirst after knowledge and are hospitable and solid in friendship." In Holland a school was arranged at Katwijk, on a Dutch seashore, near the Hague. The lectures given by him at this occasion were published later in a book under the title of "The Inner Life".

In 1923 he made a second tour of America lecturing on Ṣūfism. On his return to Europe he toured the Continent holding seminars on the doctrines of Ṣūfism. In 1925 he went again to America and lectured on mysticism. It is said that on this occasion he met Mr. Henry Ford, who said to him, "If you were a business man, you certainly would have made a success, but I am glad that you are as you are." By 1925 he had succeeded in forming Ṣūfī Societies in different parts of Europe, and desired to see his native land. In 1926 he reached Delhi. People streamed to see him from all quarters. Demands for lectures and interviews proved too strenuous for his physical capacity to bear. While in Delhi he caught pneumonia and died in 1927 at 'Tilak Lodge', a house situated on the bank of river Jamuna.

'Ināyat Khān's musical talent played a great part in popularizing the doctrine of Sufism in the West. Listening to music as already stated while dealing with Chishtiyya Order, forms an important part of the practices of the devotees of this Order. 'Ināyat Khān was thus a very suitable instrument to carry this Order into the Western world.

Pīr 'Ināyat Khān was not only a great musician and a religious leader but also a very deep thinker and a philosopher. He wrote several books on music earlier in life, and also others on Mysticism which were published in Holland. The centre of his movement is situated in 23 Rue de le Tuilerie, Suresnes, near Paris on the bank of river Seine in France. His son Pīrzāda Vilāyat 'Ināyat Khān now claims to be his successor. He receives disciples who are mostly Europeans, by formal initiation, and on every Saturday evening he gives them *tawajjuh*, the impartation of spiritual gift by means of concentration on a disciple. Pīrzāda Vilāyat is a great thinker and his knowledge of Ṣūfism is vast and profound. His wife, an English lady of charming personality, is also a mystic and deeply religious.

CHAPTER XV

The Suhrawardi Order

The history of the Suhrawardī Order in India begins with the advent of some of the disciples of Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī from Baghdād. They were contemporaries of Quṭbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, whose influence at the time was so strong that certain of them transferred their allegiance to him, and in course of time their names were formally admitted to the calendar of the saints of the Chishtī Order. One of these men was Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn of Nagore (d. 1279 A. D.), concerning whom Shihābu'd-Dīn has recorded that he was the chief of his vice-gerents in India ; nevertheless, in Delhi he so came under the influence of Quṭbu'd-Dīn as to become his disciple. There, by the Quṭub Mīnār his tomb is to be seen at the foot of the grave of his new master. Another disciple to join the Chishtī Order was Shaykh Jalālu'd-Dīn Tabrīzī, who for seven years was the disciple of Shihābu'd-Dīn in Baghdād. This man also when he came to India accepted the discipleship of Quṭbu'd-Dīn who later on appointed him his vice-gerent and sent him to Bengal, where he died in 1225 A. D. Among other pioneers of this order in India were Sayyid Nūru'd-Dīn and Shāh Turkoman, both of whom cultivated the friendship of Quṭbu'd-Dīn but did not join his Order. They were buried in Delhi, and the shrine of the latter is even now believed to possess healing properties. It is a common custom for people, to leave a vessel full of water over night at the tomb of this saint, and in the morning to give a drink from it to the sick as an aid to their recovery.

BAHA'U'D-DIN ZAKARIYA

The man who undoubtedly did most to spread the influence of this Order in India was Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyā. His ancestors were of the Quraysh tribe, and his grandparents on his father's side had come to India from Mecca and had settled down in Multān, where he himself was born in A. D. 1182. The author of the *Khulāṣatu'l-Arifīn*, states on the authority of Bahā'u'd-Dīn's disciple, Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī that the saint was, through his mother, a grandson of 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī, the founder of the Qādirī Order.

Early in life Bahā'u'd-Dīn made the journey to Mecca and thence after some years, he proceeded to Baghdād, where he became a disciple of Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī. Under the latter's guidance he soon attained perfection in the mystic way and was appointed vice-gerent by his master and sent to India.

The stories that describe this saint's spiritual dignity are many and varied. He is said to have been the recipient of three mantles, symbols which served to indicate that he held the highest authority among his contemporaries in the Order. It is said that he received one of these in a dream, from the very throne of God, and that, on waking from sleep, he actually found it on himself. That same night he received the other two at the hands of his master Shihābu'd-Dīn. Of these, one was that which had come down through successive generations of saints from the Prophet himself; the other was the master's own mantle. Shaykh Jalālu'd-Dīn Bukhārī and Bābā Farīd are both recorded to have stated that once in their presence Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn, in a state of ecstasy. exclaimed: "Lord grant me Thy highest favour in this world and the next." A voice was heard saying in reply: "Thou art the *Quṭb* of both worlds." The saint prayed again, "Lord, confer yet more than this. The voice replied, "Thou art the Ghawth of my whole creation." Yet again the saint cried out for more, and this time the voice was heard to say: "Beyond this remains the stage of prophethood, and there ariseth no prophet after Muhammad; nevertheless I bestow upon thee two of my own names; thou art *Kabīr* (the great) and *Munīr* the (Enlightener)". Continuing their narrative the authors tell us that Bahā'u'd-Din, when the ecstatic experience was over, declared, "Any needy person who recites the following invocation, which contains all the titles which I have received from God; will have all his needs supplied, and God will forgive his sins and increase the light of his faith; and if a person recites this prayer every day of his life, I promise to stand as surety for him in order to obtain for him the rewards of paradise in the day of judgment." The words of the invocation are as follows: "O my God, for the honour and dignity of the 'Chief of Islam and Muslims' the *Quṭb* of both worlds and the '*Ghawth*' of the whole creation, the *Shaykh* '*Kabīr*' and '*Munīr*', the 'Glory' (*Bahā*) of the Truth, of the Law and of Religion (*Dīn*) Muhammad Zakariyā fulfil thou my desires."

Bahā'u'd-Dīn died in 1267-68 A. D. and was buried at Multān, where his tomb is still greatly revered by Muslims. He had appointed several vice-gerents, and of these he sent some to places outside India such as Baghdād and Damascus.

SADRU'D-DIN.

His eldest son Ṣadru'd-Din, who is regarded as one of the leading saints of this order, succeeded his father as vice-gerent in Multān. Bahā'u'd-Dīn had left vast wealth, including a large castle, and this was duly divided among his seven sons. Ṣadr'u'd-Dīn received as his share seven lakhs of gold *mohars*, besides a portion of the landed property nevertheless he distributed his entire share of the patrimony to the poor. When a friend remonstrated with him for having so readily thrown away the wealth which his father had carefully collected, he replied, "But my father had complete control over all wordly desires, and so could afford to hoard such wealth, whereas I am weak, and therefore fear lest worldly possession should make me forget God." The following incident, which is recorded by the historian Firishta, has often been quoted by Muslim writers as one of the saint's miracles. Muḥammad Shāh, eldest son of the reigning king Balban, was Governor of Multān, and had married the grand-daughter of the late king Altamash. She was a very beautiful woman and her husband was deeply in love with her. Once, however, in the state of intoxication he divorced her 'irrevocably' i. e., by thrice uttering the words signifying separation. On recovering his senses he was deeply grieved to learn what he had done, for, according to the Muslim law, the only way whereby he could take her back as his wife, was for her to be regularly married to another and then once more be divorced. The *Qāḍī* of Multān suggested to the Governor that Ṣadru'd-Dīn, who stood in high repute as a saint, be asked to act as an intermediate husband by marrying her for one night only. As the Governor was most anxious to receive her back as his wife he agreed to the proposal. The records state, however, that on the following morning Ṣadru'd-Dīn, at the request of the bride herself, refused to give her up. The Governor was so enraged at this that he made the plans to put the saint to death on the next day. But it so happened that in the night Mongols besieged the city of Multān, and during the course of the day, the Governor fell in the fight with the invaders. This incident is regarded by the saint's biographers as the direct intervention of God thereby justifying his retention of the Governor's wife.

Ṣadru'd-Dīn died in 1285 A. D. and was buried in Multān near the tomb of his father.

SHAYKH AHMAD MA'SHUQ.

Shaykh Aḥmad Ma'shūq one of the vice-gerents of Ṣadru'd-Dīn, is an example of a peculiar type of saints in Muslim Hagiology. A merchant by profession he was, before he became a mystic, a notorious drunkard. He was a native of Qandhār where he kept a shop. Business often brought him into Multān, where he once happened to meet Ṣadru'd-Dīn and in a moment his whole life was changed. In due course he became his disciple and rose to be one of the prominent saints of the order. It is related of him that once while bathing in a river, he prayed thus, "O God, I will not go up out of the water, till Thou hast revealed to me the dignity that I have in Thy sight." In reply he heard a voice saying to him, "So great is thy dignity in my sight that on the day of judgment a large number of sinners will receive pardon through thy intercession." He prayed again, "O Lord this is not enough—further increase my dignity out of Thy bounteous mercy." Then the voice replied. "I am thy lover and thou art my Beloved (*Ma'shūq*) : go now and make others my seekers." From that time he came to be known by the title of *ma'shūq*, the beloved.

This saint was frequently the subject of ecstatic experiences, and in consequence neglected the rites and practices of Islam. On one occasion the *Ulamā* urged him to say his prayers, but he pleaded to be left alone, the fact being that he could not bring himself to recite the *Fātiḥa*, which forms a necessary part of all Muslim prayers. When further pressed, he reluctantly consented, making a condition that he omitted the verse, "Thee we serve and Thee we ask for aid." The '*Ulamā* replied that such prayer would be invalid, and they compelled him to proceed to say his prayer in the proper manner. It is said, however, that when he came to the middle of the chapter and began to recite abovementioned verse, blood was seen to ooze from every part of his body; he therefore stopped abruptly and exclaimed, "You see I am ceremonially unclean, and thus excused from further prayer." The incident is said to have convinced the '*Ulamā* of his extraordinary sanctity, and of the fact that he stood in a peculiar relationship to God.

SUB-SECTIONS OF THE SUHRAWARDI ORDER.

We gather from the history of the religious Orders in India that in the process of their break-up into sub-divisions there appeared a marked tendency on the part of some individuals to ignore not only the original teachings of the early saints but the practices of Islam also. The chief stress came to be laid on the worship of saints and on ecstatic experiences. As we proceed we shall observe that some of the leaders of these subdivisions resorted to hypnosis and the use of intoxicants. Those imbued with these ideas came to be spoken of by the followers of the more regular orders as *Malāmatīs* (lit. 'blame-worthy'). They are sometimes referred to as belonging to *be-shara*' (without the law) orders. In contrast to be *bā-shara*', i. e. those who observe Islamic rites and practices. (cp. Dr. Titus. *Indian Islam*, p. 125 ed. 1930.) The *Suhrawardī* Order in particular has given rise to a large number of such *malāmatī* sections.

It will be seen that this order thus falls into two groups, viz : the *bā-shara*' and the *be-shara*', and in our treatment of them we propose to follow this classification. It must, however, be borne in mind, that it is not possible to draw a line of demarcation between the two classes. As a matter of fact saints who were really *be-shara'* are to be found in the *bā-shara'* sections, e. g. Aḥmad Ma'shūq, who has already been mentioned as one of the early saints of this order. Moreover, we find a proneness in saints of the *bā-shara'* section to degenerate and in course of time to become *be-shara'*. For instance, some of the saints of the *Jalālī* Order degenerated in course of time and become founders of *azād* (or free) orders.

CHAPTER XVI.

THE SUB-DIVISIONS OF THE SUHRAWARDI ORDER.

1. Ba-shara‘ Section.

i. THE JALALI SECTION.

The Jalālī section is ascribed to Sayyid Jalālu'd Dīn Shāh Mīr Surkh posh of Bukhārā (1192—1291 A.D.), who was a vice-gerent of Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyā of Multān. This saint was born in Bukhārā, but when he grew to manhood he came to India and settled down in Uchh. His descendants are still known as Sayyid Bukhārī. Jalālu'd-Dīn is said to have possessed miraculous power even from his childhood, T. W. Arnold says of him : "Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn is the ancestor of generations of saints, some of whom were active and successful propagandists of Islam. His khalīfa was his grandson Jalāl b. Aḥmad Kabīr, commonly known as Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān (d. 1384 A.D.) who is said to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca thirty-six times and to have performed innumerable miracles. One of Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān's grandsons, Abū Muḥammad 'Abdu'llāh, known as Burhānu'd-Dīn Quṭb-i'Ālam (d. 1453 A. D.), went to Gujrāt, where his tomb is still a place of pilgrimage at Batawa. His son, Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh 'Ālam (d. 1475 A.D.) became still more famous and played an important part in the political and religious life of his time ; his tomb is at Rasulabad, near Ahmadabad."[1]

The followers of the Jalālī Order, known as Jalālī *faqīrs*, wear black threads round their heads, and also wear an amulet tied round their arms which is said to be made in the form of the Seal of the Prophet Muhammad. They also carry a horn which they blow when they are in a state of ecstasy.

These *faqīrs* have their chief seat in the Deccan at a place called Penukondah, a town in the Anantpur district, where each year on the first day of Jamādi'th-Thānī, they congregate with the *faqīrs* of other Orders, and select their representatives to go on a two-year pilgrimage to the tombs of the saints in the Presidency.[2]

ii. THE MAKHDUMI SECTION.

This section was founded by Mīr Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahān-gasht Bukhārī, who has already been mentioned as a grandson and *khalīfa* of Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Surkhposh. As his august titles indicate he is held in high honour among the Ṣūfīs as the Master of the universe and as one who traversed the globe. He is said to have met all the saints and to have been initiated into all the chief religious Orders of his time. Not only so, he is said to have received the authority to take disciples in each of these Orders. Moreover it is asserted that he travelled round the world several times, and a work is still obtainable in the book-shops which is alleged to be a true record of his journeys. This, however, contains such fantastic stories, particularly of cities in Persia and Afghanistan, as to make it impossible for us to accept it as an authentic journal.

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[1] Quoted by Dr. Titus in *Indian Islam*, P. 122. Ed. 1930

[2] See Khwaja Khan, *Studies in Tasawwuf*, P. 155.

A story which throws light on Jalālu'd-Dīn's character, speaks of how K͟hān-i-Jahān, minister of Ṣulṭān Fīroz Shāh of Delhi, once imprisoned a boy and punished him severely. It is said that the saint, at the request of the boy's father went to plead with the minister for the boy, but the minister having no respect for him, refused to see him. Jalālu'd-Dīn however, persisted and visited him as many as ten times, until at last the minister, in great irritation exclaimed: "How long will you continue to pester me, O shameless Sayyid?" The saint meekly replied, "Till you have ceased to oppress the boy, and gained the pleasure of Allah." The minister greatly pleased with this reply, at once released the boy and became a disciple of Jalālu'd-Dīn. The saint died in 1383 A. D. and was buried in Uchh.

iii. THE MIRAN SHAHI SECTION.

This is attributed to Mīrān Muḥammad Shāh Mawj-i-Daryā Buk͟hārī, a descendant of Jalālu'd-Dīn Surk͟h-posh. Originally he belonged to Uchh, the home of his ancestors, but later on settled in Lahore, where he passed the rest of his life. He lived during the reign of Akbar, who held him in high esteem, and the

Emperor's ultimate conquest of Chitor is attributed, by the saint's biographers, to his prayer. The story is told of how the Emperor when he found it impossible to conquer the impregnable fortress by force of arms, resorted to certain holy persons one of whom advised him to seek the aid of Mīrān Shāh. Acting on this advice he sent some of his noblemen to the saint, and invited him to the royal camp to offer prayer for his victory. Mīrān Shāh dismissed the royal messengers with the following words. "Go back to your Emperor, and tell him to wait for a tempest at night, which will follow shortly after your return to camp. During the storm no one will be able to keep his lamp alight, but at a distance from the military quarters, there will be seen one solitary light unaffected by the wind. Tell the Emperor, that he will find me there."

This prediction was duly fulfilled soon after the messengers reached the camp. That night, while a very strong wind was blowing, the Emperor, sighted a distant solitary light and proceeded towards it barefooted. Having requested the saint to pray for him, he was dismissed with the assurance of the desired victory. The biographers assert that the fortress of Chitor was subdued on the following morning in direct answer to the saint's prayer. Akbar, overwhelmed with joy, besought Mīrān Shāh to take up his residence in a city near to his capital. The saint, acceding to the Emperor's entreaty chose Lahore for his new home, was granted there, and in Batala, certain freeholds, together with an annuity of Rs. 9 lakhs.

He died in 1604 A. D. and his *'urs* is celebrated on 17th. *Rabī'u'l-Awwal* each year in Lahore. Though he died while in Batala his body was brought to Lahore, where he was buried near Anarkali. In Batala a shrine was built at the spot where his body was washed for burial. Ranjit Singh, the Sikh ruler of the Punjab, made a grant of Rs. 40 per month for the upkeep of his tomb in Lahore.

iv. ISMAIL SHAHI SECTION.

This section was founded by Ḥāfiẓ Muḥammad Ismā'īl, generally known as Miyān Waddā, the fourteenth in the line of succession from Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyā of Multān. He was born in 1586 A. D., and while still young, was sent by his father, himself a mystic, to Makhdūm 'Abdu'l-Karīm, a famous *pīr* of those days who had his *khānaqāh* at Langar-i-Makhdūm on the Chenab. When he reached the age of twelve he was given the task of grinding corn for the *khānaqāh's* kitchen. The story is told of how once his master paid him a surprise visit and was astonished to find the lad lost in meditation, the hand-mill, meanwhile, grinding the corn automatically, without his aid. 'Abdu'l-Karīm on witnessing the miracle at once released his disciple from this duty. Ismā'īl, however, insisted upon work of some kind being given to him, accordingly he was set to milk the cows. It soon came to be noticed that the cows he tended yielded unusually large quantities of milk, and so the people of the neighbourhood began to bring their cows to him to be milked. This was to

'Abdu'l-Karīm yet further evidence of his disciple's saintly character, and led him to pronounce him a saint, and no longer in need of his instruction. Taking leave of his master he retired to the banks of the Chenāb and seated himself under a *shīsham* tree, where, within a short time, he is said to have made perfect as many as one hundred and fifty disciples. Finally he came to Lahore and took up his residence in the part of the city known as Telpura. There he started a *maktab* for the purpose of instructing his pupils in the art of reading the Quran. It is believed that he possessed such a power as a teacher that each of his disciples became *ḥāfiẓ* in a remarkably short period of time. He is reported to have declared that this virtue would continue to be potent at his tomb even after his death. It was this notion that led to the establishment of the *maktab* at his tomb, which at one time drew large number of students filled with the desire to acquire the art of reading of the Quran. It is also believed that by eating the herbs and leaves of plants which grow in close proximity to the tomb, the intellect is quickened so that the Quran is memorized more easily.

Ismā'īl died in 1683. A.D. His strict orthodoxy is indicated by the fact he desired that no dome should be erected over his grave, but the present *sajjāda-nishīn*, i. e., successor, has built a shrine and a separate room in which he sits daily, reading the Quran.

He had three brothers who like him passed their life in retirement, living in a state of celibacy. Two of them, viz. Khalīl and Ibrāhīm have their tombs in a place called Chhani Wachak in Sialkot, while the tomb of the third, Ḥusayn, is in Lahore, in a graveyard known as Bībī Goristān.

Ismā'īl's successor was his disciple Sayyid Jān Muḥammad Ḥuḍūrī, whose grand-father, Sayyid Shamsu'l-'Ārifīn Ghawrī, came from Ghawr and settled in Lahore. His tomb was built by one of his disciples, 'Abdu'ṣ-Ṣamad, a merchant, who also added a mosque to it. The tomb is to be seen in Lahore on the west of Shāhū Garhī, and south of the road leading to Miyān Mīr.

v. THE DAWLA SHAHI SECTION.

Dawlā Shāh, the founder of this section, was eighth in the line of succession from Bāhā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyā of Multān. He was born in A. D. 1581 during the reign of Akbar. His father was 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm Khān Lodī, a descendant of Sulṭān Ibrāhīm Lodī, grandson of Bhalūl Shāh Lodī who died in 1488. This would make him a Pathan by descent, but he is nevertheless claimed by the Gūjars of Gujarāt as belonging to their tribe. His mother was Ni'mat Khātūn, great-grand-daughter of Sulṭān Sārang Ghakhar.

In the reign of Sulṭān Salīm, son of Sulṭān Sher Shāh, (1545-1553 A. D.) a large force was sent to subdue Khwāṣ Khān, who had rebelled in support of 'Ādil Khān, Salīm Shāh's elder brother. Khwāṣ Khān met with a crushing defeat and sought refuge with the Ghakhars, who supported him, and a battle was fought near Rhotās, in the Jhelum district, in which Sulṭān

Sārang Ghakhar was killed, and all his family were afterwards made captives. A daughter of G͟hāzi K͟hān, son of Sulṭān Sārang, was among the captured, and she had at the time an infant daughter at her breast. This was Ni'mat K͟hatūn, who was taken with her brother to Delhi and in the first year of Akbar's reign (A. D. 1556), shortly after Humāyūn's death, she was married to 'Abdu'r-Raḫīm Lodī, then an officer of the Imperial household. But Shāh Dawla was not born of this marriage till the 25th year of Akbar's reign (A. D. 1581) which was also the year of his father's death.

"Where Shāh Dawla was born is not known, but his widowed mother returned to her native country, Pathās, now represented by the Jhelum and Rawalpindi districts. On her arrival, however, she found that, though she was the great-grand-daughter of Sulṭān Sārang, she was as much a stranger there as in Hindustān and no one had any regard for herself or her fallen family. For five years she had to earn her living by grinding corn in the village of Sabhāla in the *pargana* of Phirhālat, whence she removed to Kalāh, where she died in 1590 A. D. after four more years of toil."[1]

Shāh Dawla, now left an orphan and friendless, was sold to a Hindu as a slave. At his master's house he exhibited great piety, and on account of his faithful services, he soon obtained his freedom. Once set at liberty he decided to lead the life of a hermit, and therefore he became a disciple of Sayyid Nāṣir Mast of Sialkot, who had the reputation of being a saint.

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[1] Rose, *Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province*. Vol. I. P. 631.

The author of the *Tadhkiratu'l-Aṣfiyā*, says that Nāṣir Mast had another disciple, also called Dawla whom he specially favoured and intended to appoint as his successor. The story is told of how, one night when Sayyid Nāṣir Mast lay dying on his bed, he called three times for Dawla, this favourite disciple, but each time he was absent and the response was made by Shāh Dawla, who, however, was sent away as not being the person he wanted. But towards morning, before he breathed his last, he exclaimed :

"To whom God (*Mawlā*) grants favour

'Tis he becomes Shāh Dawla" (king *i. e.* saint) and then afterwards appointed Shāh Dawla his successor, and bestowed on him his mantle.

For ten years after the death of Shāh Nāṣir Mast, Dawla "remained in the neighbourhood, growing yearly in reputation and power. He built many buildings; mosques, tanks, bridges and wells, the most notable of which was the bridge over the Aik. After this Shāh Dawla moved to Gujrat and settled there permanently in obedience to divine instructions...........It is said that he never asked for money and that he paid his labourers promptly. He was also most successful in finding the sites of the old ruins, whence he dug up all the materials he required for his buildings. He was liberal to the poor, irrespective of creed, and had a peculiar attraction for wild animals, keeping a large menagerie of all sorts of beasts and birds. His tolerance made him beloved of all classes and there were both Hindus and Musalmans among his disciples. He became very famous for his miracles and received large gifts. The attraction towards him felt by wild animals largely contributed to the general belief in him."

He died in A. D. 1676 and his tomb and shrine lie on the eastern side of the town of Gujrāt. He was succeeded by one Bhāwan Shāh, concerning whom there is some doubt as to whether he was a real or an adopted son of the saint. In any case the present *pīrs* of this section are descended from him.

"Many tales of his miracles are told of Shāh Dawla, but that which is chiefly associated with his name is the miracle of the *Chūhās*, or 'Rat children,' said to be born through his agency with minute heads, large ears, rat-like faces, and without the understanding or the power of speech."

"The popular idea is that these unfortunate beings have been blessed by the saint, Shāh Dawla of Gujrat in the Punjab, and though they are repulsive objects, no contempt of them must be shown, or the saint will make a *chūhā*, rat, of the next child born to one who despises one of his proteges. It is this fear which has brought about the prosperity of Shāh Dawla's shrine at Gujrat.

"The common superstition as to origin of the *chūhās* is this : Shāh Dawla, like other saints, could procure a child for a couple desiring one, but the first child born in response to his intercession would be a *chūhā* —brainless, small-headed, long-eared and rat-faced.

The custom used to be to leave the child as soon as it was weaned, at Shāh Dawla's *Khānaqāh* and as an offering to him. After the saint's death the miracle continued, but in a modified form. Persons desiring children would go to the saint's shrine to pray for a child, and would make a vow either to present the child when born or to make an offering to the shrine. In some cases when the child was duly born in response to the prayer, the parents neglected to make the promised gift. Upon this the spirit of the offended saint so worked on the parents that the next child born was a *chūhā*, and all subsequent children as well, until the original vow was fulfilled.

"The cult of Shāh Dawla offers few unusual features. No lands are attached to the shrine and its *pīrs* are wholly dependent on the alms and offerings of the faithful. Three annual fairs are held at the shrine, one at each *'Id* and the third at the *'urs* on the 10th of Muḥarram. A weekly fair used to be held on Fridays, attended by dancing girls; but this has fallen into abeyance. There are no regular rules of succession to the shrine, and each member of the saint's family has a share in it. Three of them, however, have a special influence and one of these three is generally known as the *sajjāda-nishīn*, or successor of the saint. The general income of the sect is divided into three main shares, each of which is divided into minor shares—a division *per stripes* and *per capita*. The shareholders also each take in turn a week's income of the shrine.

"There is a notable off-shoot of the Shāh Dawla *faqīrs* in an order of *faqīrs* who properly own allegiance to the Arkhūnd of Swāt. A disciple of Arkhūnd, named Ghāzi Sulṭān Muhammad, a native of Awān, a village in Gujrāt district on the Jammu border, has established a considerable following. He lives now at Shāh Dawla's shrine, but has built himself a large stone house at Awān."[1]

2. Be-Shara Sections of the Order.

i. LAL SHAHBAZIYYA.

This section of the Suhrawardī Order was founded by Sayyid Lāl Shahbāz, a vice-gerent of Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariyā. Very little is known about him and about the section of the Order which takes his name. As he was in the habit of wearing red garments, the epithet Lāl was added to his name.

He is described by the hagiographers as having led the life of a libertine. He not only disregarded the precepts of Islam, but never said even the obligatory prayers nor observed the month of fasting. On the other hand, he is said to have been addicted all his life to the use of wine and other intoxicants.

His devotees ascribe his antinomian mode of life to his desire to conceal his spiritual dignity from people; and in justification of his use of intoxicants they say, that his holy touch changed the wine into water! He died in A. D. 1324 and was buried in Sindh, where his tomb is regarded as a place of pilgrimage.

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[1] Rose, op. ict. pp. 630, 31, 33, 34.

The Ṣūfīs of this Order, now few in number, dress in red and use intoxicants, in imitation of their leader.

ii. THE SUHAGIYYA SECTION.

Mūsā Shāhī Suhāg, a vice-gerent of Sayyid Jalāl'u'd-Dīn Surkh-posh founded a new section of the Suhrawardī Order, which is called after his name. He is described to have been one of the hidden saints of his time. He concealed his spiritual dignity by living among eunuchs, who were dancers by profession. The epithet *Suhāg*, affixed to his name, indicates that he used to dress and adorn himself like a woman whose husband is alive. The story is told that once in Aḥmedabād, his native place, there occurred a great scarcity of rain. The *qāḍī* of the city, who himself was a saint, told the people that if Shāh Mūsā could be prevailed upon to pray, God would surely answer his prayer. On a search being made for the saint he was discovered among the eunuchs, and was entreated to offer prayer. Raising his eyes towards heaven, he prayed thus: "O my husband, if you are not going to send rain at once, I am going to deprive myself of these bridal ornaments." He was about to break his bangles, when lo! the clouds appeared on the horizon, and soon it began to rain heavily, continuing for several days.

This incident brought him into prominence, and he soon gathered around him a large number of disciples. He, too, did not observe the precepts of Islam regarding prayers and fastings. We are told that the orthodox *'Ulamā* of the city once persuaded him to join them in prayer, and for this purpose they put off his female attire of red cloth, and dressed him in white garments. When he began to say his prayer, these garments turned red, and when the prayer was over he said, "My husband desires me to remain a bride (*suhāg*) but these wretches would reduce me to a widow!"

Amazed by this strange incident they apologised to him for their presumption. He died in A. D. 1449 and after his death the '*Ulamā* and other saints of the neighbourhood appointed one of his disciples to be his successor whom they adorned like his master in the dress and ornaments of a bride.

The followers of this Order, who are now rare, always call themselves *sadā suhāgin*, a married woman whose husband is alive, but literally a wife whose couch is shared by a loving husband.

iii. THE RASUL SHAHI SECTION.

The origin of this sect according to the statement of its *faqīrs*, is described to be as follows. In a place called Bahādurpūr, situated at a distance of 20 miles from Alwar, there lived during the reign of the immediate successors of Aurangzeb, a wealthy jeweller named Ni'matu'llāh. Once on business he went to Egypt where he heard of Dā'ūd, a man who had the fame of being a great saint but who led the life of a libertine. When Ni'matu'llāh paid his visit to this reputed saint, he was offered a drink of some intoxicant and though he was a pious Muslim and would not touch such a thing he drank it off in deference to

Dā'ūd's authority as a man of Allah. It is said that the instant he finished drinking he fell into a state of ecstasy, tore off his clothes and taking the dust from the feet of Dā'ūd rubbed it all over his body. Finally after distributing all he had with him he accepted his discipleship. One day Dā'ūd said to Ni'matu'llah, "It is now time that my soul should leave this body and enter yours. So when I die you go to Alwar where you will find Sayyid Rasūl Shāh, make him your disciple and guide him to the experience which you have gone through under my direction; he will be the founder of a new sect of the Ṣūfīs." Dā'ūd, when he had finished speaking, died, and according to the belief of the *faqīrs* of this Order his soul entered the body of Ni'matu'llāh.

The latter, acting upon the last advice of his late *pīr*, went to Alwar and sent for Sayyid Rasūl Shāh. When he came he was offered a drink. As soon as he drank it up, his life was changed; he shaved off his head, moustaches and eye brows, and became a disciple of Ni'matu'llāh. Rasūl Shāh lived for many years in company with his *pīr*, and served him by preparing the drink of hemp for him. Then one day Ni'matu'llāh, in words similar to those of his predecessor, said to him, "Rasūl! My soul is now about to leave this mortal frame and enter yours, you then shall be the founder of a new sect of Ṣūfīs which will be known after your name." Shortly after Ni'matu'llāh expired, and, in course of time, he came to be regarded by certain Muslim jewellers and merchants as their patron saint. Rasūl Shāh, in spite of his antinomian habits, gained the reputation of being a saint. He soon gathered round himself a large number of followers who used to pay him divine honour. He was recognised, as foretold by his *pīr*, to be the founder of a new sect called Rasūl Shāhī after his name. It is customary among the *faqīrs* of this sect to worship their *pīr* by falling before him in adoration. [1]

The following is an account of them as given by Rose, "They wear a white or red handkerchief on the head tied in the shape of a peaked cap: they also keep a handkerchief containing ashes which they rub on their bodies and faces; they shave the head, moustaches and eye brows, wear wooden clogs, and in the hot weather carry hand fans. They not only see no harm in drinking spirits, but look on it as a virtue, and it is said that they have, or had till lately, a special licence to manufacture their own liquor. Their taste for drink drew them into close sympathy with the Sikh Sirdars of pre-annexation times and Ranjit Singh is stated to have allowed them a monthly grant of Rs. 200 for spirits. They are a small sect and not celibate. As a rule men well-to-do, they are never seen begging and many of them are men of literary tastes, popularly credited with a knowledge of alchemy. Their chief centre in the Punjab was a building near Landa Bazar in Lahore, and they had also a building in the environs of that city near Khu-i-Mīrān, but are also returned from Jhelum."[1]

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[1] The *faqirs* or this order believe that when their *pir* dies his soul enters in one of his disciples who becomes his successor.

Sayyid Rasūl Shāh was seventeenth in order in the line of succession from Bahā'u'd-Dīn Zakariya of Multān.

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[1] Rose: A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and Northwest Frontier Province. Vol. 111, p. 324.

Rose's above account of the *faqirs* of this sect is in full agreement with the statement of the author of the *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti*, The Investigations of a Chishti, a book written after thorough inquiry about the Sufis and their Orders and shrines in Lahore.

CHAPTER XVII

The Qadiri Order.

i. SOME EARLY SAINTS OF THE ORDER.

This Order was established in India as late as three hundred years after the death of its original founder, Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Jīlānī or Gīlānī, by Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth, tenth in the line of succession. He was born at Aleppo, and in his youth he travelled as far as India, and after spending some time in Lahore, he went back to his home, eventually returning in A. D. 1428. He settled in Uch, which has already been described as the centre of the activities of the saints of Suhrawardī Order. The fame of the founder of the Qādirī Order has previously reached India, and he was already honoured as *Pīr-i-pīrān*, "the saint of saints." When therefore Muḥammad Ghawth arrived, he soon became popular, and in a remarkably short space of time gathered around him a large number of adherents. Sulṭān Sikandar Lodī, the Afghan ruler of Delhi, not only became his disciple, but also gave his daughter to him in marriage. He is said to have done this in obedience to the command of Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir who appeared to him in a dream and ordered him to give his daughter to Muḥammad Ghawth in marriage. No child, however, was born of this union. Muḥammad Ghawth then took a second wife, Fāṭima, a daughter of Abul Fataḥ, fourth in the line of descent from Ṣafīu'd-Dīn. who is regarded as the founder of a colony of Sayyids in Uch. This Ṣafīu'd-Dīn was a nephew of Abū Isḥāq Gāzrūnī, a Governor of Lahore. It is said that the latter had bestowed upon him a robe of honour and then bidden him go on his way, with permission to choose as his future home the place where his camel should happen to stop. When therefore, on reaching the site in Uch now known as Muḥalla Gīlāniyān, his camel sat down, that spot was selected by Ṣafīu'd-Dīn as the quarter to be occupied by himself and his descendants. This part of Uch, now inhabited by the descendants of Muḥammad G͟hawt͟h, is called Gīlāniyān, with reference to the district Gīlān or Jīlān, the home of their illustrious ancestor, Shayk͟h 'Abdu'l-Qādir. The other part of Uch in occupied by the descendants of Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Buk͟hārī, the famous saint of the Suhrawardī Order, and is called Muḥalla Buk͟hāriyān.

Muḥammad G͟hawt͟h had four children born to him by his marriage with Fāṭima. He died in A. D. 1517 and was buried in Uch. Sayyid Maḥammad G͟hawt͟h was succeeded by his son 'Abdu'l-Qādir II who in his early life indulged in various luxuries. On his father's death, however, when succeeding him as Khalīfa, his life underwent a complete change. He renounced the world and returned to the Government all the royal credentials for freeholds and annuities which had been granted to his father by the king. He passed the rest of his days in a life of absolute poverty, in which he was not spared various persecutions and troubles. These, however, he bore with complete resignation and faith in God. Meanwhile his brothers held high offices under the Government, but he himself steadily refused to take advantage of any opportunity that came his way of gaining favours at the royal court. Indeed, his contempt for the world was so pronounced that he scrupled to visit the ruling princes, even when specially invited by them. The story is told, how once, when a prince sent him a persuasive invitation, he replied in a stanza which may be rendered as follows:

> I have no door to which to go
> From this one door of Allah.
> While seated here, come weal or woe,
> I am content with either.
> Whoso, in this world, wears the cloak
> Provided by the King of Love,
> Feels a delight he could not have
> Though robed in light in heaven above.

The hagiographers record many miracles said to have been performed by him, chiefly works of healing. He died in A. D. 1533-34 and was buried in Uch.

ii. Sub-sections of the Order.

1. THE QUMEṢIYYA.

Shāh Qumeṣ, the founder of this section was seventeenth in the line of descent from Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī. He and his father, Abdu'l-Ḥayāt, are counted among the pioneers of the Qādirī order in India. He lived in Bengal.

"Shāh Qumes most probably flourished in the 16th. century, as tradition connects him with Akbar and Humayun's war against Sher Shāh Sūr, though even so his birth cannot be carried back to 1425......His cult is said to be connected with Bihar and three large fairs are held, one in that Province, one at Ludhiana and a third at Sādhaura itself."[1]

2. THE BAHLUL SHAHI

This section was founded by Bahlūl Shāh Daryā'i, a disciple of Shāh Laṭīf Barrī. The latter's *pīr* Ḥayātu'l-Mīr, is said to have become a disciple of 'Abdu'l-Qādir, some three hundred years before the time of which we are writing! Further, he is supposed to have been endowed with life immortal, and in consequence is known as *Zinda pīr*, i. e. a *pīr* who is still alive. It thus comes about that Bahlūl Shāh, notwithstanding the gap of some three centuries between him and the original founder, is accounted fourth in the line of succession.

We do not possess any details concerning the life of Bahlūl Shāh himself, but around his *pīr* Shāh Laṭīf Barrī and the *pīr* of his *pīr*, Ḥayātu'l-Mīr, there have grown up certain legends and they now rank among the more popular saints. Rose describing the cult connected with Laṭīf Barrī writes: "About 10 miles north of Rāwalpindi is a famous Rāmkund or Rāma's pool, with a Hanūmān *Kund*, a Lachman *Kund*, a Sūraj *Kund* and a Sīta *Kund*, but in the last-named no Hindu will bathe though bathing in all the others is meritorious on any holy day and more especially on the first of Baisakh at the *Sankrant*......Two miles to the south of Rāmkund is Nūrpur Shāhān (in Tehsil Rawalpindi); where a Mohammadan fair is held on the first Thursday after Baisakh 15th. Ecstasy and frenzy (*ḥāl*) are not unknown on this occasion. The fair begins on the arrival of an offering of every kind of fruit in season from Peshāwar, and cannot commence without it. It is held in honour of Shāh-i-Laṭīf Barrī or Barrī Sulṭān, said to have been a pupil of Sayyid Ḥayātu'n-Nūr Qādirī. Barrī Sulṭān used to be supplied daily with milk by a Gujar, but the buffalo which gave the milk always used to die on the day it was milked for the saint. At last the Gujar was reduced to a bull, but the saints bade him milk it too. It also died, the Gujar only recovered his cattle from the spring to see them all turned into stones, where they stand to this day, because he disobeyed the saint's behest not to look back, when he called out their names one by one at the spring."[1]

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[1] Rose, A Glossary of the Tribes and Castes of the Punjab and North-West Frontier Province. Vol. i. p. 542.

"The *ziyārat* of Ḥayātu'l-Mīr, 24 miles north-east of Mānshara at Bālākot on the bank of the Kunhar *Nāla* is in Mohammadan belief the sitting place of Sakhi Ḥayātu'l-Mir, who is said to have been endowed with life everlasting, while according to Hindus it is the sitting place of Bhā'i Bālā. At the 'Id one day men and the next day women assemble there. It has a spring known as *Sharbat*, which has medical properties being believed to cure leprosy and other diseases and twenty and thirty sufferers are generally to be found there."[1]

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[1] Rose, *op. cit.* vol. I. P. 130.

3. THE MUQIM SHAHI.

This section is ascribed to Sayyid Muqīm Muḥkam-'ud-Dīn, who was a vice-gerent of Ḥayātu'l-Mīr, the saint alluded to above as the *pīr* of the *pīr* of Bahāwal Shāh Daryā'ī. Of Muqīm Shāh himself we know little, but his great-great-grandfather; Sayyid Bahāwal Shāh is held in high esteem as a very famous saint of the Qādirī Order. The latter's tomb is to be seen at Muzang in Lahore, and in connection with it the story is current that in the day of Bahāwal Shāh a river ran past this spot and that he used to seat himself on its banks, and pass his days in meditation. But the women of the neighbourhood complained to their husbands that when they came to the river to draw water they were exposed to the gaze of the *faqīr*. Driven away from one place he eventually settled himself at another further along the bank, but when here also he began to meet with opposition, he angrily smote the river and ordered it to change its course. The river, we are told, now began to flow at a distance of four miles from its original position, and meanwhile in the bed of the old stream there appeared a hillock which the saint chose as the place in which to pass his days.

It is said that he drove three wooden pegs into the ground near him, each of which immediately sprouted into a tree. Two of them till A. D. 1938 were said to be green, but one, a *neem* tree, was then dried up. The attendant at his shrine on receving an offering of Rs. 1/4/- will give the visitor a bit of this *neem* wood, which is valued as a relic, and is generally made into beads for a rosary. The hagiographers depict this Bahāwal Shāh riding on a lion and carrying a snake in his hands in place of a whip.

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[1] Rose, *op. cit.* vol. I. P. 594.

Muqīm Shāh spent his early days at this shrine of Bahāwal Shāh in meditation, and it was here, while sleeping one night that his pious ancestor is said to have appeared to him in a dream and directed him to the place now known as Miyānī Muqīm Shāh, rousing himself from sleep, obeyed the order and preceding thither met Ḥayātu'l Mīr, who admitted him in the Qādiri Order.

4. THE NAWSHAHI SECTION.

The Nawshāhī Order owes its origin to Shāh Ma'rūf Chishtī-Qādirī, a descendant of Bābā Farīd Chishtī and a vice-gerent of Sayyid Mubārak Ḥaqqānī The latter was a son of the famous Sayyid Muḥammad G͟hawt͟h already mentioned as the pioneer of the Qādirī Order in India. So that, in the person of Shāh Ma'rūf the two lines of succession united, but it was the Qādariyya which took precedence and his spiritual descendants are counted in the line of that Order. Though the Nawshāhī section is traced back to Shāh Ma'rūf, yet the distinctive title Nawshāh (bride-groom) was actually given for the first time to Ḥājī Muḥammad, a disciple of Shāh Ma'rūf's vice-gerent, Sulaymān Shāh. In fact, the records say very little about the originator of this section, beyond mentioning him as its titular saint.

Shāh Ḥāji Muḥammad is regarded as having been endowed with the dignity of sainthood from his very birth. The story goes that once, when he was an infant of six months, a woman of the neighbourhood approached his cradle intending to take him in her lap, but she became greatly alarmed on removing the coverlet to find a snake coiled round his body. Her loud shriek brought the mother to the cradle, but she failed to find any cause of fear, as in reality no snake was to be seen. While still wondering at what she was told about the snake, the mother heard a voice saying, "Fear not, the woman is ceremonially unclean and was thus stopped from taking the holy child into her arms."

When Ḥājī Muḥammad reached the age of seventeen he retired from the world and lived in the desert. His parents eventually sought him out and took him to Naushahra, in the Punjab, where they prevailed upon him to get married to the daughter of a religious man. Henceforth Naushahra became the home of Ḥājī Muḥammad and his parents. The saint, however, continued to live as a recluse spending his night in meditation on the banks of the river and his days in a mosque, reading the Quran. Six years after he had settled at Naushahra he heard the fame of Sulaymān Shāh Qādirī and became his disciple. Within a short space of time he became perfect in the mystic path and received from his *pīr* the title of Naushāh Ganj Bakhsh.

Ḥājī Muḥammad had the reputation of being a very hospitable man, for he was always ready to feed beggars, and when his own resources failed he would go out and beg from door to door till he had collected sufficient for all his guests. The story is told of how once when he went to beg for some flour at a neighbour's door, the woman of the house was in the act of kneading some flour, but on seeing the saint at a distance she hid it quickly under her thigh, and then apologised to him saying that she had none. When the saint had departed she discovered to her horror that the flour had stuck to her body, and no amount of effort could detach it from her thigh, until her husband went to the saint and, confessing her fault, besought him to pray on her behalf.

Ḥājī Muhammad died in A. D. 1604-5 and was buried at Chani Sahnpal at the Chenab, opposite Ramnagar in Wazirabad tahsil.

Some of the disciples of Ḥāji Muḥammad have become famous saints of the Qādirī Order. One such person was Muḥammad Fuḍayl, a native of Kābul. In search of a *pīr* he came to India and became a disciple of Ḥājī Muḥammad. After he had acquired perfection in the mystic path he was appointed a vicegerent and sent back to his home. Being given to ecstatic experiences he neglected the obligatory prayers. The '*Ulamā* of Kābul then came to him and threatened to punish him if he would not say his prayers. Fuḍayl argued that prayer could not be offered without the customary ablution and that in his case he was unable to perform it. The *'Ulamā* desiring to test the truth of his assertion, brought some water and proceeded to pour it on his arms so as to help him to perform his ablutions, but to their great surprise they noticed that it did not even wet his hands. He died in A.D. 1699-1700 and was buried in Kabul.

The Naushāhī section was further sub-divided by Ḥāji Muḥammad's two disciples, Pāk 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān and Pīr Muḥammad Sachyār. The followers of the former are known as Pāk Raḥmānīs and those of the latter as Sachyārīs. When 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān was five years' old Ḥājī Muḥammad once happened to fix his gaze upon him with the result that the child turned insane, and came to be spoken of as Mad Raḥmān. His parents, abandoning all hope of the child's recovery, presented him to Ḥājī Muḥammad. The child was no sooner received by the saint than he recovered his sanity. When he grew up the saint allotted to him the duty of carrying bread to those who were appointed to till the ground attached to the monastery. It is said that each time he carried out the bread he would receive two portions as his daily ration, but instead of eating them himself he used to give them away to some beggar. Many days were passed in this manner so that he became much reduced in health. At last the matter was brought to the notice of Ḥājī Muḥammad who ordered him to eat his meal in future in his presence.

The other disciple, Pīr Muḥammad Sachyār was one day about to get married, but instead turned *faqīr* and for this reason some have been led, though wrongly, to consider him the founder of the Naushāhī section.

The following story explains how he came to be known by the title of Sachyār. Ḥājī Muḥammad on the occasion of the wedding of his son Hāshim, accompanied the marriage procession to the house of the bride. While there, according to the custom of the country, the bride's relatives demanded of him a present in cash of Rs. 100. But, as the saint had nothing, he turned to his disciples asking them to lend him the amount, but none of them were able to help him out. Pīr Muḥammad, however, unhesitatingly replied "Never fear. I will get you the amount," and saying this he went out and began to pray. While still praying a man came to him and besought prayer for his wife who was lying ill. After offering prayer on her behalf Pīr Muḥammad followed the man to his house, and there healed the woman. Her husband was so delighted that he thereupon made him an offering of Rs. 100 and a horse. The saint duly returned with these and presented them to Ḥāji Muḥammad as gifts, and since than he received the title of *Sachyār*, 'true friend.'

The *faqīrs* of Naushāhī and of its two sub-divisions, contrary to the rules of the Qadirī Order, hold musical festivals and on such occasion shake their heads violently to and fro. The *faqīrs* of Pāk Raḥmānī are said to exceed those of Sachyār in their frenzied behaviour. Rose, who writes concerning the Pāk Raḥmānī *faqīrs*, says that, "When subject to religious frenzy they hang themselves on trees with head downwards and sway their bodies violently backward and forwards shouting *Illa llāh* till they faint from exhaustion. They explain this custom by a story about Pāk Raḥmān ascending to heaven, and on being recalled by Naushāh, thinking it respectful to his tutor to descend with his head foremost."[1]

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[1] Rose, *op cit.* Vol. III, P. 199. See also, Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti*, Lahore, P. 428.

CHAPTER XVIII

The Qadiri Order (continued)

The Ḥusayn Shāhī and Miyān Khel Sections

The Husayn Shahi

This section is ascribed to Hadrat Shāh Lāl Ḥusayn of Lahore, a disciple of Bahlūl Shāh Daryā'ī. His mother was a Rajput woman of the Dhadha tribe, and his paternal ancestors were known as Kalsarā'ī. Thus Lāl Ḥusayn's own name was originally Dhadha Ḥusayn Kalsarā'ī. The first of his ancestors to accept Islam was a man named, Kalsarā'ī, who became a Muslim during the reign of Firoz Shāh Taghlak, and was appointed by him to be Shaykhu'l-Islām. The family name, Kalsarā'ī, dates from that time. Lāl Ḥusayn showed, even as a child, a marked preference for clothes of saffron and red colour, hence the epithet Lāl added to his name. Very early in life it became clear that he possessed a religious disposition, and while still only ten years old he was initiated into the Qādirī Order by Bahlūl Shāh Daryā'ī. For twenty-six years he strictly followed the rites and practices of Islam, and led a life of real austerity. But on reaching the age of thirty-six, it is said that while studying a commentary on the Quran under a certain Shaykh Sa'du'llāh in Lahore, he came one day to the verse ; "The life of this world is nothing but a game and sport." (vi. 32). He asked his master to explain this to him, but when the usual meaning was given he refused to accept it, saying that the words must be taken literally, and that henceforth he himself would pass his life in sport and dancing. This incident proved to be a turning point in his career and from that time he sought to express in life the extraordinary views he held. In consequence he abruptly left the *madrasah* and went about shouting and dancing in public. He never returned to his student life and religious practices. We are told that one of his first acts on leaving his studies was to throw his book, *Madārik*, a commentary on the Quran, into a well. His fellow-students, grieved at the loss of so valuable a work began to chide him, whereupon he turned and addressed the well as follows: "O water, return my book, for my friends are anxious to have it;" on saying this he drew it out unsoiled!

He now gave himself up to the life of a libertine and spent so much of his time in drinking, dancing and music that he became, in the language of the Ṣūfīs, *malāmatī*, blameworthy. It is said that his *pīr* Bahlūl Shāh Daryā'ī, hearing of the change in his disciple came to see him and, strange to relate, in spite of the freedom from restraint which he himself witnessed in Lāl Ḥusayn's manner of life he expressed himself satisfied with the hidden sanctity of his disciple, and thereupon confirmed him in his position as his vicegerent in Lahore.

Ḥassu Telī, famous as the saint of oilmen, was a contemporary of Lāl Ḥusayn. He kept a shop at Chawk

Jhhanda near the Mori gate. At first he used to sell corn, but later at the direction of his *pīr*, Shāh Jamāl (whose tomb is in Ichhra), he started selling oil. Lāl Ḥusayn, who was in the habit of visiting the tomb of Dātā Ganj Bakhsh, would stop on his way at the shop and spend some time in dancing and shouting. One day Ḥassū Telī, teasing him said, "O, Ḥusayn, why this dancing and shouting ? You have no cause of such ecstasy, for I have never seen you in the court of the Prophet." But on the following day, when Muhamad held his court in the spirit world, with all the prophets and saints in attendance including Ḥassu Telī as one of the representatives of the living saints on earth, a child appeared, who first went to the lap of the Prophet, and was then passed from one to the other, finally coming to Ḥassū Telī. While playing on the latter's knee he plucked out some hairs from his beard. When next Lāl Ḥusayn stopped at the oilman's shop Ḥassū repeated his taunt that the man was not worthy of being admitted into Prophet's court. For reply Lāl Ḥusayn quietly produced the hairs which he had plucked from Ḥussū's beard ! The oilman was at first thrown into great consternation, but recovering his equilibrium retorted after a moment's silence : "So it was you, was it ? Ah well, it was as a child that you got the better of me !"

Lāl Ḥusayn's name is popularly associated with that of another person called Mādhu, and in fact, the two are so constantly thought of together that the saint commonly goes by the name of Mādhu Lā. Ḥusayn as though the master and this disciple of his were one person. Mādhu was a young Hindu boy, a Brahmin by caste, to whom Lāl Ḥusayn was, one day, irresistibly attracted as he saw him pass by. So strong indeed was the fascination he felt for the boy, that he would rise in the middle of the night and, going to his house, would walk round it. In time Mādhu himself felt the attration of Lāl Ḥusayn and, coming under the spell of his fervent love, began to frequent his house, and even joined him in drinking wine. Such intimate connection between a Hindu boy and a Muslim *faqīr* of questionable character very soon become the talk of the place. Mādhu's parents feeling it to be a disgrace to their family, tried their utmost to dissuade the boy from going to Lāl Ḥusayn, but in vain.

So far Mādhu, though the bosom friend of Lāl Ḥusayn, had not yet renounced Hinduism. It was, we are told, a miracle wrought by Lāl Ḥusayn that finally led him and his parents to the conviction of the truth of Islam. The story goes that once when Mādhu's parents were going to Hardwār to perform the bathing ceremony they desired to take their son with them. Lāl Ḥusayn, however, would not let him go, though he promised to send him later. When the parents had reached Hardwār, Lāl Ḥusayn made Mādhu shut his eyes and then, after striking his feet upon the ground, to open them again. Mādhu did as he was told and was greatly astonished on looking round to find himself in Hardwār! His surprise was shared by his parents, who marvelled at his arrival from such a distance within so short a space of time. Impressed by this miracle, Mādhu and his parents on their return to Lahore accepted Islam at the hands of Lāl Ḥusayn.

The latter died in A.D. 1599 at the age of sixty-three and Mādhu who survived him for forty-eight years was buried in a tomb next to that of his *pīr*, in Bāghbānpūra, in Lahore. The shrine containing their tombs continues even to this day to attract dense crowds of people of all classes. The '*urs* used formerly to be celebrated on 22nd. Jamādi' th-thānī, i. e. the anniversary of Lāl Ḥusayn's death; but later, in order to avoid any inconvenience through the date for the celebration falling in the heat of summer, it was agreed to make the festival coincide with the advent of spring so now the 14th. Baisakh and the last Sunday in March are the recognised dates for its celebration.

Lāl Ḥusayn had sixteen Khalīfas, four of them were called Khākī, four Gharīb, four Dīwān, and four Bilāwal. After his death four of them, viz. Khāki Shāh, Shāh Gharīb, Diwān Mādhu, and Shāh Bilāwal took up their abode at his shrine, and were eventually buried within its precincts.[1]

The Miyan Khel Section.

This section was founded by Mīr Muḥammad, commonly known as Mīyān Mīr. His original home was Siwastān, where he was born in A.D. 1550. He received his early training in mysticism from his mother who was herself initiated in the Qādirī Order. When he grew up into manhood he became a disciple of Khiḍr Siwastānī, a saint of cynical disposition who lived the life of a hermit in the solitude of a desert, wearing nothing but a loin-cloth throughout the year. In winter this Khiḍr would pass the night time in a furnace that had been heated during the day. The story is told how one day in summer, when he was sitting in the blazing sun, the ruler of Siwastān visited him, and standing close by cast his shadow upon his body so as to protect him from the sun. The saint raising his head asked him what he wanted. The ruler said "I desire to be permitted to do you some service." The saint replied. "The one service that I would have you perform is that you get away from here and do not cast your shadow upon me." The ruler, retreating a short distance, then requested the saint to pray for him during the hour of his worship. But the saint rebuked him, saying, "God fordid, that in the hour of worship I should think of any one else beside Him."

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[1] A full account of Lal Husayn and Madhu, and of their shrines may be found in, Nur Ahmad Chishti, *Tahqiqat-i-Chishti*, p. 31 ff.

After spending some time under the discipline of Khiḍr Siwastānī, Miyāṉ Mīr eventually went to Lahore for the purpose of study. Within a short period he completed his studies and settled permanently there. He had arrived in Lahore during the latter part of Akbar's rule, and lived on through the successive reigns of Jahāṉgīr and Shāhjahān.

Prince Dārā Shikoh, son of the Emperor Shāhjahān, held Miyāṉ Mīr in high esteem and wrote a biography of him, under the title of the *Sakīnatu'l-Awliyā*,[1] which has come down to us. Though the prince knew the saint intimately and paid him frequent visits, yet for some reason or other he became a disciple of Mullāh Shāh, one of Miyāṉ Mīr's vicegerents. Dārā Shikoh has depicted the saint as a man of high principles, one who scorned material possessions, shunned cheap popularity, and exhibited at all times the utmost contempt for wordly pleasures. To him the true renunciation was that wherein a Ṣūfī, in his search after God, becomes so absorbed that he grows unconcerned about the ordinary necessities of life, and is anxious only to live in continuous meditation upon God. His biographer tells us that he had a habit of saying that the purging of one's self from every love except that of God is the first step towards the mystic Path. He would enjoin upon his disciples the cultivation of humility, and urged them to avoid the company of the rich and of men of high dignity. In this connection he often used to quote the saying of Muhammad. "The last thing that goes out of the head of the righteous is love of dignity." He himself is described in words which indicate that he endeavoured to live up to the standard of austerity which he set before others. He remained a celibate all his life.

Miyāṉ Mīr's favourite disciple was Miyāṉ Natthā, a native of Sirhind, who also waited upon him. The saint lived in the upper story of his house while Miyāṉ

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[1] Our information concerning the life of Miyan Mir and his associates are chiefly derived from this book. See also, Nur Ahmad, *op. cit.* p. 250 ff.

Natthā occupied the lower. Every night it was his custom to carry water to his master for the ablutions before prayer. One night, according to Dārā Shikoh, he was late in taking the water and on reaching the room he failed in spite of a thorough search, to find his master. Astonished at the saint's sudden disappearance, he spent the whole night seated outside the door, awaiting his return. Great was his surprise when, early in the morning, he heard his master shouting from within the room to bring the water. Miyāṉ Natthā, curious to know where he had been during the night and how he managed to get inside the room, naturally asked for an explanation. The saint at first would not reply, but when Miyāṉ Natthā persisted in his enquiry; he answered, "I generally spend my night in Mt. Ḥirā, in the vicinity of Mecca, where Prophet Muhammad used to meditate in his early life."

Miyāṉ Natthā was very much subject to states of ecstasy and would often pass whole day in some desert place, lost in profound meditation. Dārā Shikoh speaks of him as one who could understand the language of birds, trees, plants, etc., and tells the story of how Miyāṉ Mīr once asked him where he resorted for meditation. The disciple replied. "At first I used to meditate in Ichra, but there the noise of the trees and plants praising God disturbed me. and so now I retire to the corner of a shrine in Mohalla Junayd K͟halīfa." Miyāṉ Mīr jokingly retorted : "Aha ! listen to all the talks of this oilman !" (This probably was an allusion to his previous occupation).

Another story of similar type is told on the authority of Miyan Natthā himself. Once a jinn, the owner of vast wealth, pressed him to take as much of it as he desired, but he refused saying that it was of no use to him. A little further he heard a tree calling out to him, and as he drew near to it, the tree thus addressed him. "You did not listen to the jinn, well now take a little of my root. When desired you just put a bit of it into some molten metal and it will turn it into pure silver." Natthā still paying no attention, passed on, and heard a plant which called out to him from some distance ahead, saying: "Take me along; a little bit of me if put into some metal will turn it into gold." Whereupon Miyān Natthā turned to God in prayer and cried: "O Lord of the Universe, these Thy creatures distract me from contemplation of Thyself! Command them never again to address me thus."

Miyān Mīr died in A.D. 1635-36 and was buried in Lahore at the place now known by his name. Prince Dārā Shikoh sent to Siwastān for the saint's cousin Muḥammad Sharīf, to come to take charge of the shrine, and his decendants still serve there as its attendants. The Prince commenced to build the shrine and also planned to make a road of red stone all the way from the saint's tomb to the Fort, but before the work was completed he was put to death by his brother Aurangzeb. The edifice remained unfinished for a whole year, and then, when Aurangzeb himself visited the place, he gave orders for its completion.

Within the precincts of the shrine, but outside the area enclosing the saint's tomb, there are many graves. Chief of these is that of Miyāṉ Natthā who had died before his master in A.D. 1618. Others are the tombs of the descendants of Muḥammad Sharīf the first guardian of the shrine. Attached to the shrine is a Bārādarī, which contains the tomb of Princess Nādirah, sister of Dārā Shikoh. The story goes that the Princess from the time she was nine years old, used to come to the saint and assist him to make his ablutions for the midday prayer. After two years of such service the saint said to her, one day, "Daughter ! You are now growing up, do not trouble to come any more," The following morning she was found dead in her apartment, it being surmised that she died of grief, so distressed was she that the privilege of serving the saint had been taken away.

The *'urs* of Miyāṉ Mīr is held on the 7th. of Rabī''th-thānī, and is celebrated for a night and a day during which a continuous stream of people visit the tomb. Hundreds of temporary shops are set up in booths on both sides of the road leading to the shrine. The anniversary celebrations are also, unfortunately, attended by women of ill-fame, as well as by singers and musicians who throughout the night give free preformances of their dancing and singing. A fair is also held there on every Wednesday in the months of Sāvan and Bhāduṉ, and on these days people throng to the shrine and take part in celebrations of a type similar to the *'urs*.

CHAPTER XIX

The Naqshbandi Order.

The first saint of this order to enter India was Khwāja Bāqī Bi'llāh Berang, seventh in the line of succession from Khwāja Bahā'u'd-Dīn Naqshband, the founder. Bāqī Bi'llāh acting on the instruction of his *pīr*, came to India and settled in Delhi, where he died after three years.

He may be considered to have merely introduced the Order into this country, for it was his disciple and vicegerent, Ahmad Fārūqī, who really established it here. This man, in fact, exerted so great an influence upon the people that for a time it seemed as if the Naqshbandī Order would supersede the rest of the Orders in India. The importance that came to be attached in course of time to this one may be judged by the following remarks made by Rose, "The history of the Naqshbandī Order would be of some interest if it could be recovered, not merely because it has played an important part in Muslim thought, but also because it has had no little influence on the political vicissitudes of India, Mesopotamia, and, to a less extent, Turkey."[1] Since these words were written much material relating to the Indian history of the Order has been recovered, and as a result of the keen interest recently shown in the Order by the Muslims of the Punjab, a considerable literature on the subject is now available in both Urdu and Persian. This history, however, so far as India is concerned begins with Aḥmad Fārūqī of Sirhind.

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[1] Rose, *The Darvishes*, P. 435.

Aḥmad Fārūqī was born in A.D. 1563-64 in Sirhind. It is asserted by the Ṣūfīs of this Order that his coming was known to the saints centuries ahead, and that Sirhind, long before his birth was regarded as the place in which he would appear. Khwāja Aḥmad Amkangī is stated to have sent Bāqī Bi'llāh, his disciple, to India for no other purpose but to initiate the long-expected saint into the Order. Bāqī Bi'llāh, himself, on reaching Delhi, was informed by divine revelation concerning every detail in the personal appearance of this chosen saint of God and was instructed to look out for him. But we are told that as early as five hundred years before his birth 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī had foretold Aḥmad's coming and had announced that he would be a great reformer of Islam. 'Abdu'l-Qādir went so far as to entrust his *Khirqa* or, patched garment to his son 'Abdu'r-Razzāq, to be passed on from generation to generation till the appearance of Aḥmad, when it should be bestowed upon him. It is said that this his duty was eventually performed, in 1604 A.D., by Sayyid Sikandar Qādirī, a descendant of 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī.[1]

A number of supernatural events are said to have taken place at his coming, such as that all the saints who were dead appeared to his mother and congratulated her upon his birth. His father saw Muhammad, in company with all the prophets, come near the infant and repeat the *adhān* in his ears and enumerate his virtues. Further, we are told that for a whole week from the day he was born no musician could use his instrument. Many of them took this to be a sign of God's disapproval of their profession and relinquished it. Like Muhammad he too was born circumcised.

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[1] Abul-Fayd Khwaja Kamalud-Din. *Rawdatu'l-Qayyumiya*-Part I p. 108.

Aḥmad's father, Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Aḥad, was a very distinguished Ṣūfī who held authority to make disciples in fifteen different religious orders and when Aḥmad reached the age of discretion his father initiated him into all of them. But so far neither 'Abdu'l-Aḥad nor his son had come into touch with the Naqshbandī Order.

In A.D. 1598-99 when his father died, Aḥmad left his home with the intention of making the pilgrimage to Mecca. His route lay through Delhi where a friend introduced him to Bāqī Bi'llāh, who constrained him to stay with him for a week. It did not take long for Aḥmad to come under the influence of his host, and before the week was over it was agreed to prolong his stay there. Eventually he gave up the idea of making the pilgrimage and became a disciple of Bāqī Bi'llāh. At the end of two months he was appointed a vicegerent by his new *pīr* and sent back to Sirhind.

Four years after he paid another visit to Bāqī Bi'llāh, and, contrary to all custom, the disciple was received with every token of respect by his *pīr*. He was allotted an eminent place in the monastery where even his *pīr* would sometimes sit along with his own disciples and listen to the mystical expositions of Aḥmad. The extraordinary treatment that Aḥmad received from his *pīr* roused the jealousy of some of the other disciples, nevertheless his fame rapidly grew and he soon outshone all contemporary Ṣūfī teachers.

Shortly afterwards he returned to Sirhind, and it was on this occasion that he received the *K͟hirqa* of the Qādirī order, to which reference has been made above. Aḥmad has left it on record that when he assumed this *K͟hirqa* the spirit of 'Abdu'l-Qādir with that of 'Alī, and the spirit of Bāhā'u'd-Dīn with that of Abū Bakr (in company with all the departed saints of their respective orders) came to him, each claiming him to be the representative of his Order. While the contention was still in progress, the spirits of the founders of the Chishtī and Suhrawardī Orders, attended by companies of departed saints, also appeared to him, and each put forward his argument in support of his claim that Aḥmad should represent his Order. The dispute is said to have been continued from morning till noon. At last appeal was a made to Muhammad, who decided the matter by saying, "Let there be united in Aḥmad the spiritual power of all the religious orders, and let each of you bestow upon him the right of supreme authority in your orders. But the Naqshbandiyya should take the precedence of all orders with him, since it is traced to my friend Abū Bakr, and because it is in keeping with the Law of Islam, for he is to be the reformer of my religion." [1]

The above story is often quoted by the Ṣūfīs of the Naqshbandī Order not only to show the superiority of this Order over all the rest, but in justification of their claim that its *pīrs* have authority to make disciples in all the others. As a matter of fact the *K͟halīfas* of Aḥmad did, for a time, initiate disciples into all the religious orders, but later on the practice was restricted to the Naqshbandī and Qādirī Orders only. This restriction arose through indulgence by others in such practices as music which are contrary to the law of Islam.

In A.D. 1603-4 Aḥmad paid his third visit to his *pīr*. On this occasion Bāqī Bi'llāh eulogised him, enumerating the points of distinction in his character. For instance, he said, "Aḥmad has guided us to the true interpretation of Ṣūfī pantheism. In the knowledge of mysticism he is like a sun while we are like planets revolving round him. Indeed, after Muhammad there have never been a saint in dignity equal to him."

Soon after his return from Delhi he went to Lahore, where he was welcomed by the Ṣūfīs and the *Ulamā* as a saint and reformer of Islam. While he was still there, news reached him of the death of his *pīr*, so he hastened to Delhi where he was acknowledged as the head of the Naqshbandī Order. He was soon acclaimed as the much-needed *Mujaddid*, or reformer of Islam, and in consequence the order itself came to be known as the "Naqshbandiyya-Mujaddadiyya."

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[1] *Ibid.* Part I. pp. 109, 10.

The fame of Aḥmad soon spread far and wide in India, and he began to exercise great influence over all classes of the people. He not only acted as a *pīr* but, in keeping with his title, he also exerted himself to purge Islam of numerous heretical teachings which were current among Muslims, much of it due to the influence of Akbar's eclectic religion, *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*. He further set himself up in opposition to the Shi'as who were gaining much influence at the time, and wrote several treatises in refutation of their tenets. In a word, he endeavoured to restore Sunnī Islam to its pristine condition. The result was that from all quarters of the country the orthodox enthusiastically hailed him as the saviour of their religion. He is said to have tried to convert even Fayḍī and Abu'l-Faḍal, Akbar's chief religious advisers, from their heretical beliefs. His success, however, was most marked in the reign of Jahāngīr, when many of the leading officers of the conrt became his followers. Moreover he tried to effect certain religious reforms among the Emperor's soldiers, for whose spiritual instruction he appointed Badī'u'd-Dīn, one of his own disciples. These activities, but more especially his effort to combat Shi'a influence in the state, roused the temper of Aṣaf Jāh, the Shi'a prime minister of Jahāngīr. As he had the Emperor's ear he prevailed upon him to exercise his royal authority to curb the progress of the new movement, arguing that it might prove to be dangerous to the state. Acting upon his advice, the Emperor promptly transferred to distant provinces such of his leading officers as were Aḥmad's disciples; for instance, Khān-i-Khānān was sent to the Deccan; Sayyid Ṣadar Jahān to Bengal; Khān-i-Jahān to Mālwa; and Mahābat Khān to Kābul. When the more influential friends of the saint had been scattered, Aḥmad himself was summoned to appear at court. Foreseeing the danger of persecution, he sent his family away to Afghānistān, and came, attended only by his immediate followers, into the presence of Jahāngīr. On being brought before the king he refused to make the customary obeisance to him, and when urged to observe the usual court etiquette, he replied, "I have never bowed my head to any of God's creatures, and I never will!" This gave an opportunity to his enemies to whisper to the Emperor of the grave danger he ran in granting liberty to a person of such marked independence of character. The saint and his companions were, thereupon, ordered to be imprisoned in the fort of Gwalior. News of this aroused the most indignant feelings among his followers, and for a time an insurrection seemed imminent. In particular, Mahābat Khān, shocked at the news of his *pīr's* imprisonment, was on the point of returning from Kābul at the head of an army. Fortunately, however, the saint intervened and issued orders from the prison, that no one was to rise in revolt on his behalf, adding that any one who gave way to violence would incur his greatest displeasure. Thus tranquility was restored among his followers.

Aḥmad remained a prisoner for three years, by which time Jahāngīr became convinced of his innocent character, and not only granted him his freedom, but, impressed with his saintly life, actually became his disciple. The Emperor, following the advice of his *pīr*, proceeded to make several changes in matters of state. For instance, the custom of falling prostrate before the king, which had been in force from the time of Akbar, was discontinued; the use of beef, which had hitherto been prohibited was made permissible, a new mosque was built close to the Diwān-i-'Ām in the fort, for the special convenience of the king and his courtiers, and the Sunnī code was adopted as the law of state. Aḥmad's triumph over the Shi'as at court was also complete. Their influence indeed declined to so great an extent that their Mujtahid, Sayyid Nūru'llāh, was trampled to death by an elephant at the order of the king. In short, from the time of Aḥmad the influence of the *pīrs* of the Naqshbandī-Mujaddadī Order continued to be an important factor in the courts of the Moghal Emperors.[1] Aurangzeb, a staunch Sunni Muslim, who was a disciple of Aḥmad's son Ma'ṣūm, was himself a product of this Order. Aḥmad died in A. D. 1625 at the age of sixty three and was buried in Sirhind.

We shall not attempt to describe any of the seven hundred miracles which are said to have been performed by him, but shall content ourselves instead with a brief account of his teaching and achivements as a Ṣūfī-

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[1] *Ibid.* 124-130; 186-195

and a reformer. Undoubtedly the chief service that he rendered to Sunni Islam was through his reforms. He extirpated the heresies introduced by Akbar, drove out the Shi'a beliefs and practices which had found their way into the court of Jahāngīr through the influence of his wife Nūr Jahān, and purged Ṣūfism of many of those extraneous elements which had become attached to it through its long history. It was because of his efforts to harmonise the doctrines of mysticism with the teachings of the Quran and Sunnat, that he came to be looked upon as the person foretold by Muhammad in the following tradition, "Among my people will arise a man who will be called *Ṣila*." This word is interpreted by the Ṣūfīs to mean, one who shall reconcile his followers to God and also harmonise the teaching of the mystics with the law of Islam. Another tradition which is quoted as having reference to him, runs as follows, "Muhammad said: At the beginning of the tenth century, during the period intervening the reigns of two powerful monarchs, there will arise a man who shall be my namesake; he shall be a great light, and shall carry many thousands with him into paradise." Aḥmad forbad his disciples to make use of the following practices, though they are still considered permissible in certain of the other religious Orders: the use of music; dancing while in the state of ecstasy; prostration before one's *pīr*; the worship of the saints and shrines, and illuminating the tombs of saints.

He also revised the theology of the Ṣūfīs. For instance, in the matter of their belief about God the Ṣūfīs were divided into *Wujūdiyya* and *Shuhūdiyya*, the one holding, what appears to me, an extreme pantheistic view, the other a modified view of it. Aḥmad reconciled the two by asserting that a Ṣūfī in the early stage of mysticism fails to see any distinction between the Creator and the creatures and he is a *Wujūdī*, a monist; but in the higher stages he gains the knowledge of the two as existing separately and is thuse a *Shuhūdī*, one witnessing the existence of God.

Aḥmad is credited with as many as 644 treatises on different religious subjects. His teachings are mainly embodied in a series of letters which were collected in his lifetime and are now published in three large volumes.

We shall speak again of Aḥmad in the following chapter in connection with the peculiar dignity which he claimed for himself and for his three immediate successors.

CHAPTER XX

The Naqshbandi Order

THE FOUR QAYYUMS

The doctrine of Qayyūmiyat, to be explained in the present chapter, is peculiar to the teachings of the Naqshbandī-Mujaddadī Order and requires separate treatment.

Aḥmad Sirhindī was the first of the saints of Islam who claimed for himself and for his three immediate successors the title of Qayyūm. It would seem that the Qayyūm is to be considered higher in rank and dignity than the Perfect man.[1] He is described as follows: The Qayyūm is the dignitary on whom the whole order of existence depends, and under whose control are all Names, Attributes, and things actual and potential. All things, whether they belong to the past, the present or the future—men, animals, birds and plants—in fact every animate and inanimate object—the throne of God, the Preserved Tablet, the Pen, the Planets, the fixed stars, the sun, the moon, and the heavens with all their signs of the Zodiacs, are "under his shadow," i. e. (government).

It is through his command that the heavens and their 'Zodiacs' move in their courses, that the waves rise and fall in seas and oceans, that the leaves in the trees shake and rustle, that the rains fall from heaven, that fruits ripen, that birds open their beaks (to receive food), and that day succeeds night. Every event, small or great, takes place according to his command. Not a drop of rain falls without his knowledge. The earth remains motionless or quakes in accordance with his will, and every one of its inhabitants receives joy or sorrow, pleasure or pain according to his discretion. Not a single moment or day, week, month, or year can prove auspicious or inauspicious to the world without his order. There can be no harvest, no growth of any plant unless he wills. In fact, every conceivable event takes place as he desires and directs.

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[1] The doctrine of the Perfect Man has been expounded by Ibnu'l-'Arabi and Jili, also see, Nicholson, *Studies in Islamic Mysticism.*

Moreover, all ascetics, worshippers, pious people and saints occupied with God's praise, remembrance and meditation, in huts and cells, on mountains and by the banks of rivers or seas, either with their tongues or with other organs of spiritual communication (*laṭā'if*) all such are engaged by the will of the Qayyūm, and unless their worship is first accepted by him it does not reach unto God.

The Qayyūm is 'the substance' of all that exists actually or potentially, and all beings, except God, are to him what 'accidents' are to' substance'. He is the Vicar of God on earth. The Absolute bestows upon him a special essence, called *mawhūb.*[1] on which depends the subsistance of the universe, yet though he is the 'Subsistance' of all, the application of this term is not commensurate with his dignity. Even so, since the universe stands to him in the relation of 'accidents', we call him 'substance', for there is no substance without accidents, and no accidents without substance. Every Ghawth, Quṭb, Abdāl, etc., is a representative of the Qayyūm and is his servant. Verily, he is the Vicar of God, and all the *Afrād*[1] of the world turn to him. He is moreover the *qibla* of the universe and of all its inhabitants, whether they know it or not. Such is the dignity of the office of Qayyūm as bestowed upon Aḥmad Sirhindī and his three immediate successors. But this office was strictly limited to these four and no other can receive this high dignity in future.

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[1] Lit ; given.

Aḥmad further asserted that God fashioned his body with the substance that was left over after the creation of the body of Muhammad. The second Qayyūm, Ma'ṣūm, a son of Aḥmad, states in one of his letters that, "Aḥmad said that God used the residue of the substance of the body of Muhammad to form his body and those of his three successors." In this connection a story is told of how one night after his prayer Aḥmad's whole body became so luminous that it dazzled the eyes, and at that moment he received the following 'revelation' from God : "O Aḥmad ! this thy body, is made of the residue of the substance of Muhammad's body, which I had reserved for thy sake, for thou wast to be my beloved."[2]

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[1] *Afrad*, are those saints who are not under the *Qutb*, the head of the invisible hierarchy of the saints.

[2] Abul-Fayd Khwaja Kamalud-Din *op. cit*. Part I. pp. 93-97.

It is said that when God bestowed upon Aḥmad the dignity of the Qayyūm, the spirit of Muhammad appeared to him and said: "You are indeed my son, like Ibrāhīm and Qāsim.[1] The honour and privilege which God has given to you, no other saint has ever received from Him. You have been raised a thousand years after me, at a time when God might raise up another Prophet to reform religion, but as there can arise no Prophet after me, you are sent forth into the world endowed with the dignity of those exalted messengers of God who were known as *Ulu'l-'azam* [2] "Possessors of constancy," and all the acts of such prophets will proceed from you, and through you my religion will be reformed. Muhammad then turned to the spirit of K͟hadīja and said, "Aḥmad is your son also, for God has given him to us both, and he is brother of Qāsim and Ibrāhīm." Whereupon K͟hadīja affectionately embraced him and said, "You are the best of all my sons." [3]

Another story, illustrating his dignity in virtue of his *Qayyūmiyat* (the office of Qayyūm), runs as follows. Once Aḥmad saw the angels, jinn, human beings and the entire creation performing their *namāz* and making prostration towards him. He 'concentrated his mind' to find out why he was the recipient of such higher honour. He was forthwith 'inspired' to know that the Ka'ba itself had come to visit him and that he was so completely surrounded by it that every one prostrating towards the Ka'ba was actually prostrating towards himself. At the same time he received the following "revelation": "O Aḥmad! your great desire was to visit the Ka'ba, and I have sent the Ka'ba to visit you. I now bestow upon the ground whereon stands your monastery, the dignity of the Ka'ba and I also deposit within it the light of the Ka'ba itself." The Ka'ba then entered the monastery of Aḥmad, and the ground whereon the monastery stood itself became so intimately one with the Ka'ba, that the former was first 'annihilated' and then received its 'subsistence' in the latter, and thus all the realities of the Ka'ba came to exist in the monastery also. An angel was then heard to proclaim, "This mosque (monastery) of Aḥmad Sirhindī has superiority over all the mosques of the world, and he who ever performs prayer in this mosque will acquire the same degree of merit as though he had offered prayer in all the mosques of the world." It is on the basis of this legend that the Muslims of India, more especialy those of the Punjab, make a pilgrimage to this particular mosque. The tomb of this saint himself is said to be situated at a distance of about twenty yards from this ground which is now regarded as being quite as sacred as that of the Ka'ba.[1]

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[1] Muhammad's two sons born of Mary the Copt. and Khadija, who died in their infancy.

[2] The following nine are said to have been *Ulu'l-'azam* Prophets: Noah, Abraham, David, Jacob, Joseph, Job, Moses, Jesus, and Muhammad.

[3] *Ibid*, Part, I. 99-100.

The next great favour which Aḥmad, as the Qayyūm, claimed to have received from God was that He bestowed upon him the title of the 'Depository of God's Mercy', and actually made him the custodian of 'His Treasury of Mercy'. At the time when he received this favour he declared that he saw an infinite number of angels descending from heaven and standing before him, in rows, with folded hands, and that they said to him ; "We are the angels of mercy, and God has commanded us to carry out your orders." Thus Aḥmad not only claimed that he was the custodian of the treasury of God's Mercy but also that its distribution was entrusted to him. He further asserted that he had given the charge of keeping the seal of the permit to enter heaven on the day of judgment to his son, Sa'īd. He declared that all who receive from God a permit to enter heaven on the day of judgment must first get impress on it of his seal. Other acts of mercy, such as rescuing sinners from hell, and assisting people at the Bridge and at the Balances, he has entrusted to his son and successor, Ma'ṣūm. [1]

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[1] *Ibid* Part I. pp. 100-101.

The story is related that once Aḥmad went to the graveyard in Sirhind, where one of his ancestors, Rafī'u'd-Dīn, the founder of the city, was buried. There it was revealed to him that henceforth, by virtue of his visit to that cemetery, no one buried in it will suffer the usual punishment of the grave till the day of judgment. [2]

Similar sanctity is said to attach to the land situated to the north of his monastery. This is called 'heavenly land' and it is believed that any one buried in it will surely go to heaven. Ma'ṣūm writes that his father once told him that God had graciously made his burial place 'heavenly' and that if a handful of earth from this ground be cast into the grave of any one, the soul of the person there buried will not suffer from any torment of hell. This particular piece of 'Heavenly land' measures forty yards in length and thirty yards in breadth. On its western extremity is a well concerning which Aḥmad once declared that any one drinking of its water thrice, would escape the touch of the fire of hell and most surely enter heaven.[1]

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[1] *Ibid* Part I. pp. 101-102.

[2] *Ibid* Part I. pp. 154-155.

The following story is yet a further illustration of the high claims which this saint made concerning his personal dignity as the Qayyūm of his age. It is said that once in Sirhind plague was raging very violently. When the mortality became excessive, people hastened to Aḥmad and asked him to pray that the epidemic might cease. After offering prayer Aḥmad declared: "God demands one of my children on behalf of the people, and I have agreed to give one." The same day his son Muḥammad 'Isā, eleven years old, died of the plague. His death, however, though believed to have taken place by way of relief for the people, failed to bring about any abatement of the epidemic. Consequently, the people came once again to Aḥmad and entreated him to pray on their behalf. This time he was informed by a 'revelation' from God that yet another son of his must die on behalf of the people.

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[1] *Ibid* Part I p. 160.

Again the saint consented to the death of his son, Farukh, then ten years old. He also was attacked by the plague and died the same day. Even this did not have the desired effect, for the epidemic continued to rage as violently as before. The devotees of the saint once again besought his prayers. Aḥmad now offered his daughter Kulthūm, and also the wife of his son Ma'ṣūm, and in consequence of his prayer they both fell ill and died of the plague. It is said that when Kulthūm was lying on her deathbed, about to breathe her last, angels appeared to the saint and congratulated him. But this being no occasion for joy, he greatly wondered at their felicitations, whereupon God is said to have sent him the following extraordinary 'revelation': "O Aḥmad! rejoice, for I have chosen thy daughter, Kulthūm, for my prophet Yaḥyā (John the Baptist), and these angels and saints who stand around her bed are there to solemnize her marriage with him." On receiving Aḥmad's consent the ceremony was performed by 'the spirit of Muhammad,' and then the spirits of all the prophets and angels bore witness to it. As soon as the ceremony was over she breathed her last. The saint forbade the people to mourn over her death, for he said that he saw Yaḥyā with a great concourse of the angels and the spirits of the saints and the prophets following the bier of Kulthūm as if they were marching in a wedding procession. He also said that when her body was laid in the grave the spirit of Yaḥyā caught hold of it.[1]

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[1] *Ibid.* Part I. 157-158.

Aḥmad even declared that he had access to 'the Preserved Tablet.' The story goes that one of his disciples, Shaykh Ṭāhir, fell in love with a Hindu girl, and in consequence renounced Islam and became a Hindu. Aḥmad prayed earnestly for him and he was guided back to Islam. Soon after he again apostatized, and again his faith was restored to him by the prayer of the saint. When this was repeated the third time, the saint studied the 'Preserved Tablet,' and discovered that it was recorded of him that he would die as a 'sinner.' The saint records that he then erased the word 'sinner' and wrote the word 'saint' in its place! Ṭāhir then repented sincerely of his lapse into Hinduism and became a devoted disciple of Aḥmad. Soon after he received from the saint permission to make disciples in the Chishtī, the Qādirī and the Naqshbandī Orders, and was also raised to the dignity of the Quṭb. Aḥmad finally sent him to Lahore as his vicegerent, where he lived until his death A.D. 1630—31[1]

The second Qayyūm and successor of Aḥmad was the latter's third son, Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm 'Urwatu'l-Wuthqā, born in A.D. 1598-99. It is said that the name Ma'sūm, 'sinless,' was given to him in accordance with the instruction of 'the spirit of Muhammad.' At his birth the spirit of Muhammad, in company with the spirits of all the prophets and saints, is said to have come and repeated the *adhān* in the ears of the child. Miraculous events are said to have marked each stage of his development.

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[1] *Ibid,* Part I p. 327

The second Qayyūm claimed to have learnt from his father the meanings of the mysterious letters which are found at the beginning of the certain chapters of the Quran. It is said that no one had ever known their meanings except Muhammad and his more intimate companions. It was a thousand years after the time of Muhammad that they were revealed for the first time to Aḥmad, and the only person to whom he transmitted this knowledge was this son, his successor. It is related that in the period during which the father was expounding the meanings of these letters to his son, every precaution was taken against the possibility of being overheard by any man, jinn or spirit. For instance, the evil spirits and demons were imprisoned in the ocean, and the angels were made to stand in tiers with folded hands, round about Aḥmad and his son. Both the Qayyūms at this time had miraculously transported themselves to Mecca, and had shut themselves up inside the Ka'ba. For three days the instructions continued to be given and they are said to have been of such terrible nature that at every exposition of the mystery Ma'ṣūm became unconscious. But at the end of the three days the saint had only completed the unfolding of the one letter, *qāf*. It is said that the mysteries attaching to the remaining letters were subsequently revealed to Ma'sūm by God Himself.[1]

Prince Aurangzeb, who in his early youth was devotee of Aḥmad, now became a disciple of Muḥammad Ma'sūm. The reason given for his accepting Qayyūm

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[1] *Ibid.* Part I pp. 164—166.

II as his *pīr* is said to be as follows. He dreamed one night that the day of judgment had come, and that sinners were being dragged down to hell. The angels of hell came to him also to drive him into the fire, but as they were about to take hold of him shouts were heard from all sides, "Here comes Imām Ma'sūm! Imām Ma'ṣūm! Imām Ma'sūm! he is our deliverer!" The Qayyūm then appeared on the scene, delivered the sinners from hell, and instead sent them to heaven. Finally Ma'sūm turned to Aurangzeb and bade the angels release him on the ground that he was his disciple. It is said that on the following morning he went to the Qayyūm and became his disciple.[1] The saint, after initiating him into his Order, predicted that he would succeed his father as Emperor of India. From that time Aurangzeb was supported in his contest against his brothers for the throne by this saint who wielded very great influence throughout the Empire. It was largely through the influence of this puritanical *pīr* of his, Ma'sūm, that he reimposed the *jīzya* on his Hindu subjects and forbade the use of music. Even the practice of Samā' at the shrines of the Chishtī saints was put a stop to.

The third Qayyūm was Khwāja Naqshband Ḥujjatu'llāh, born in A. D. 1624-25. He was the second son of Qayyūm II. The year of his birth is regarded as remarkable, and is called *sāl-i-muṭlaq*, 'the absolute year,' for it was in this very year that Qayyūm I died, that Qayyūm II succeeded him, and that Qayyūm III was born.

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[1] *Ibid* Part II p. 38.

Like his predecessor, Ḥujjatu'llāh also influenced very greatly the reigning Emperor, Aurangzeb, in his political career. The biographers of Qayyūm III say that it was at the instigation of this saint that Aurangzeb led out his great expedition against the Shi'a kingdom of South India.

A large number of miracles are declared to have been performed by him. The most astonishing of these is that he is said to have raised to life his grand-daughter after she had been dead for three days. It is said that his grand-daughter, Tāju'n-Nisā, once fell ill, and after suffering for some time died. When the news was conveyed to the Qayyūm he said that she was not dead but alive. The doctors did their best to revive her but they did not find any sign of life in her. When three days had passed, and her body began to show signs of decay, the people approached the saint and requested him either to allow to make preparation for her burial or else raise her to life. Whereupon the saint approached the body and called her by name, at which she at once sat up.[1]

The fourth Qayyūm Zubayr, was a grandson of Qayyūm III. It is related that his father, Abu'l 'Alī, took the the veil, after the manner of women, when twelve years old, but discarded it when Zubayr was born twelve years afterwards. Such supernatural events as are said to have taken place at the time of the birth of the first three Qayyūms are reported to have occurred at Zubayr's birth also, and countless miracles are said to have been performed by him from his childhood on to old age.

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[1] *Ibid.* Part III, p. 90.

It was during the time of the fourth Qayyūm that Aurangzeb died, and in the subsequent war of succession between princes A'ẓam and Mu'aẓẓam, the saint appears to have played an important role in deciding its final issue. He openly championed the cause of his disciple, Mu'aẓẓam, and encouraged him with the promise of victory in his fight with his brother. As predicted the battle ended in favour of Mu'aẓẓam, who ascended the throne with the title of Bahādur Shāh. Zubayr, however, never allowed him to forget that it was through his influence that he had gained the Empire.

The fourth Qayyūm passed the rest of his life amid the turbulent times of the now decaying Muslim Empire. The hostile forces of Marhattas, Rajputs, Sikhs, Jats, the French and the English were closing in upon Delhi. It was during this time that Delhi was sacked by the Persians under Nādir Shāh (A. D. 1739.) who took away the Peacock Throne and with it immense treasure.

The decay which had set in was due in the main to the intolerance and fanaticism with which the four Qayyūms had imbued the Moghal Emperors—in particular Aurangzeb and his successors. It is notable that the Muslim Empire in India was at the height of its glory in the time of Akbar, in whose reign Qayyūm I assumed office, and that it lay in ruins when the last of the Qayyūms died, in A. D. 1739—40. Equally noteworthy is the fact that at the death of Zubayr the Naqshbandī-Mujaddadī Order had spread to every part of the Muslim world.

CHAPTER XXI

Some Minor Orders

1. THE UWAYSI ORDER

This Order is ascribed to Uwaysu'l-Qaranī, who derived his title from Qaran, a village in Yaman. He was a contemporary of Muhammad but was prevented from seeing him chiefly because of his high sense of duty to his own mother and also owing to the fact that he was subject to states of ecstasy which periodically overmastered him. He is said to have received instruction in a mysterious way from the spirit of Muhammad. Thus it is that when a Ṣūfī is known to have no *pīr*, he is said to be an 'Uwaysī.' The custom, to which reference has already been made (p. 191), of connecting two saints or mystics in a spiritual genealogy who could never have met because saparated by a long space of time or distance, is really derived from this Uwaysī Order. The one is said to have received instruction from the *rūḥāniyat* ('spirituality,'—elsewhere we have translated this word by spirit') of the other. Such cases are common in the Naqshbandi Order. (See pp. 187-193)

The following anecdote concerning Uways is related by the author of the *Kashfu'l-maḥjūb*: The Apostle said to the Companions: 'There is a man at Qaran, called Uways, who at the Resurrection will intercede for a multitude of my people, as many as the sheep of Rabī'a and Muḍar. 'Then turning to 'Umar and 'Alī, he said : 'You will see him. He is a lowly man, of middle height, and hairy ; on his left side there is a white spot, as large as a dirhem which is not from leprosy (pīstī) and he has a similar spot on the palm of his hand. When you see him, given him my greetings, and bid him pray for my people.' After the Apostle's death 'Umar came to Mecca, and cried out in the course of a sermon : 'O men of Najd, are there any natives of Qaran amongst you ? They answered, 'Yes' ; whereupon 'Umar sent for them and asked them about Uways. They said : 'He is a mad man who dwells in solitude and associates with no one. He does not eat what men eat, and he feels no joy or sorrow. When others smile he weeps, and when others weep he smiles.' 'Umar said : 'I wish to see him.' They replied : "He lives in a desert, far from our camels. 'Umar and 'Alī set out in quest of him. They found him praying and waited until he was finished. He saluted them and showed them the marks on his side and the palm of his hand. They asked his blessing and gave him the Apostle's greeting, and enjoined him to pray for the Moslem people. After they had stayed with him for a while, he said : 'You have taken trouble (to see me) ; now return, for the Resurrection is near, when we shall see each other without having to say farewell. At present I am engaged in preparing for the Resurrection.' When the men of Qaran came home, they exhibited great respect for Uways. He left his native place and came to Kufa. One day he was seen by Ḥarim b. Ḥayyān, and after that nobody saw him until the period of civil war. He fought for ʽAlī, and fell a martyr at the battle of Siffīn." [1]

D'Ohsson in his work on the Ottoman Empire says that Uways formed the first order of the anchorites who practised the greatest austerity. He writes: "This visionary pretended also to have received from the heavenly visitor the plan of his future conduct, and the rules of his institution. These consisted in an abandonment of the pleasures of innocent nature, and in the recital of an infinity of prayers day and night. Uways even added to these practices. He went so far as to draw out his teeth, in honour, it is said, of the Prophet, who had lost two of his own in the celebrated battle of Uḥud. He required his disciples to make the same sacrifice. He pretended that all those who would be especially favoured by heaven, and really called to the exercises of his Order, should lose their teeth in a supernatural manner; that an angel should draw out their teeth while in the midst of a deep sleep; and that on awakening they should find them by their bedside. The experiences of such vocation was doubtless too severe to attract many proselytes to the Order; it only enjoyed a certain degree of attraction for the eyes of fanatic and credulously ignorant people during the first days of Islamism." [2]

Uways was regarded as the patron saint of many of the trade guilds in Turkey, especially that of the barbers' tooth-drawers. According to Rose he is also the patron of bowmen and camel drivers.

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[1] *Kashf al-Mahjub*, pp. 83, 84.

[2] Quoted by Rose in *The Darvishes*, pp. 266, 267.

As we have seen the place assigned to Uways in Indian hagiology is significant. There were indeed many saints who were termed 'Uwaysī' and some of them originated certain of the other Minor Orders. One such Order is called Madārī, and we shall now proceed to give a brief account of it.

2. THE MADĀRI ORDER.

This Order is ascribed to Badī'u'd-Dīn Shāh Madār, Unfortunately there is much confusion in the various details given concerning him by different hagiographers. The following account is based on the *Mir'āt-i-Madārī*, a manuscript copy of which is to be found in the Buhar Library, a section of the Imperial Library, Calcutta. The *Mir'āt-i-Madārī* is said to have had for its sources the *Imān-i-Maḥmūdī* a work believed to have been written by Maḥmūd Kantūrī, one of the vicegerents of Shāh Madār.

Shah Madār was a Jew, and his father, Abū Isḥāq Shāmī was a direct descendant of Aaron, the brother of Moses. The birth of Shāh Madār is said to have been announced to his father in a dream by Moses himself, who named the child Badī'u'd-Dīn (the maker of religions), and said that he would be like unto him in the dignity of sainthood. According to Moses' prediction signs of the 'Mosaic saintship' showed themselves in Madār in his youth. He received his early education from a Jewish teacher, Ḥadīqa Shāmī, a man who knew all the scriptures by heart and truly followed their teachings. This Ḥadīqa is said to have performed many miracles in his life.

When Shāh Madār was still young his parents died, and he, broken hearted over his loss, went to his master Ḥadīqa and said, "I have acquired mastery over all the Scriptures and have learnt much from you about the mysteries of religion, but so far I have not entered at all into the experience of union with God. You have taught me of one Ahmad, foretold in the Torah and Injīl, who was to come after Moses and Jesus, and through whom alone one could find God. Where is he to be found ?" His master replied, "Ahmad has passed away from this world, but his followers are to be found in Mecca and Medina." Whereupon Shāh Madār renounced all his worldly possessions and went to Mecca. There he spent some time in the study of the Quran and Traditions and then mastered the Fiqh of all the four Sunnī Schools of Jurisprudence. Even so his soul was not satisfied. At last, disappointed, he thought of returning to his home in Syria, but when he went to make the circuit of the Ka'ba for the last time, he heard a voice saying to him, "If thou art a seeker after God, hasten to the tomb of Muhammad in Medina." In obedience to the voice he went to the Prophet's tomb and as he kissed it he heard a voice saying to him, "Peace be on thee, O Badī'u'd-Din Shāh Madār ! God willing, thou wilt soon attain thy goal." Shortly afterwards the spirit of Muhammad appeared and, in the presence of 'Alī's spirit, instructed him in the mystery of the religion of Islam. Afterwards Muhammad commended him to the care of 'Alī and ordered him to instruct him as one of his own sons in esoteric knowledge. Shāh Madār next went to Najaf Ashraf, the sacred place of the followers of 'Alī. There he was introduced by 'Alī to Imām Mahdī, the twelfth invisible Imām, who further instructed him in the twelve heavenly books. We learn of these books thus incidently in this connection. They are enumerated as follows : The four books which were revealed for the children of Adam, viz.,

Torah, Zabūr, Injīl and Furqān.

Four which were sent down to the jinn viz. Rakūrī, Jājarī, Dasharī and Walīyan.

Four which were revealed to the Angels viz. Mir'at, A'inu'r-Rab, Sirr-i-Mājir and Maẓhar-i-Alif.

When Shāh Madār had been thoroughly instructed in all esoteric and exoteric knowledge, Imām Mahdī took him to the spirit of 'Alī, who then appointed him his vicegerent and ordered him to go to Medina. There the spirit of Muhammad directed him to proceed to India.

Another version of his life speaks of him as an Arab of the Quraysh tribe, and traces his genealogy on his father's side to Abū Hurayra and on his mother's side to 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān b.'Awf, both companions of Muhammad. His fathers's name, according to this version, is said to be 'Alī. In his spiritual genealogy, he is connected, through 'Abdu'llāh Makkī and Shaykhu'l-Jārib Muqaddasī with Ṭayfūr Shāmī. The story goes that

Ṭaylūr's *pīr* had been a disciple and companion of Jesus Christ, and that Jesus informed Ṭayfūr that he would live to a great age and see Muhammad ! Jesus is further said to have instructed him to remain hidden in a cave till the appearance of Muhammad, and then to accept his religion.

Though obscurity surrounds the origin of Badī'u'd-Dīn, there is reason for believing that, on reaching India, he first went to Ajmer where he is said to have received instruction as to his future activities from the spirit of K͟hwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn. Thence he went to Makanpūr, in the neighbourhood of Cawnpore, where he died in A.D. 1485. There is some difference of opinion as to his age at the time of his death. According to some he lived to be 250 years old; according to others 150.[1]

His tomb in Makanpūr is visited by crowds of both Muslims and Hindus, and is the scene of an annual fair. Women are excluded from his shrine because it is believed that any woman entering it is immediately seized with violent pains, as if her whole body were wrapped in flames of fire. On the occasion of his *'urs* the rite of fire-walking is performed by Madāri *faqīrs*. Burning coals of fire are spread on the ground and sandalwood is sprinkled upon them. Then the *faqīrs*, following their leader, jump quickly along the path of coals, shouting meanwhile "Dam Madār; Dam Madār;"

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[1] See, Ghulam Sarwar, *Khazinatu'l-Asfiya vol*. II, (1914, Nawelkishor Press, Cawnpore) pp. 310-311. See also, *Akhbaru'l Akhyar Munaqibu'l-Asfiya Mu'arijuḅ' l-Wilayat.*

i. e. 'By the breath of Madār;' Their cry is believed to be a protection against injury from the hot coals, as well as a cure for the bite of a snake or the sting of a scorpion. After the performance their feet are washed and are found to have received no injury.

Sometimes devotees of the saint vow a black cow at the time of the anniversary of his birthday, which is supposed to have been the 17th. Jamādīu 'l-Awwal. The cow is then slaughtered and the meat distributed among *faqīrs*. This custom is called "*gāi' lūtnā*" *i. e.*, plundering the cow.

3. THE SHAṬṬĀRI ORDER.

This order is an offshoot of the Ṭayfūrī K͟hānwāda, and is attributed to Shayk͟h 'Abdu'llāh Shaṭṭārī, a descendant of Shayk͟h Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī. The name *Shaṭṭār* literally means 'speed', and is a term applied by the Ṣūfīs to certain mystical practices whereby they are enabled in the shortest possible time to arrive at the state of 'annihilation' (*fanā*) and 'subsistence' (*baqā*). 'Abdu'llāh was the first to receive the title of Shaṭṭārī on the completion of such practices. It was given to him by his *pīr*, Shayk͟h Muḥammad 'Ārif, who afterwards sent him to India. Wherever he went 'Abdu'llāh sought out the Ṣūfīs and said to them: "If you possess any spiritual gift, I request you to share it with me, otherwise I invite you to share mine". He also made this proclamation in every place through which he passed: "Let everyone who is a seeker after God come to me and I will lead him to God."

When in India he first took up his residence at

Jaunpūr, the capital of the then reigning Sulṭān, Ibrāhīm Sharqī. But soon his relations with the court became strained and he was obliged to leave for Mālwa, which then was a small independent Muslim state. There in its capital—Mandu—he lived till he died in A. D. 1428-29.

Shāh Muḥammad Ghawth of Gwalior was a famous saint of this Order, fourth in the line of succession from 'Abdu'llāh Shaṭṭārī. He travelled extensively, making acquaintance wherever he went with leading saints and Ṣūfīs of his time. First he laboured hard to acquire the esoteric knowledge peculiar to Ṣūfīsm which consists chiefly of the art of magic and methods of summoning jinn. Later, he turned his attention to the study of mysticism and devoted himself to the purification of his heart for the purposes of attaining to the knowledge of God. Soon he rose to be a mystic of so high an order that he held authority to make disciples in the fourteen Khānwādas becoming at length a Quṭb of his age. The Emperor Humāyūn held him in very high esteem, and indeed it was in consequence of his friendly relation with Emperor that Sher Shāh, after defeating Humāyūn, regarded Muḥammad Ghawth with suspicion. A further pretext for the new ruler's persecution of the saint was found in his book *Mi'rāj* (ascension). In this he described his experiences in the path of spiritual progress, frequently making use of pantheistic expressions. Such a book was considered sufficient reason for condemning him to death. Muhammad Ghawth fled from Mālwa and took shelter in Gujrāt, which then formed an independent state under Sulṭān Muḥammad III. But the *'Ulamā* of Gujrāt also prepared a brief against him and presented it to the court. The Sulṭān however refused to take any step unless it was signed by Shāh Wajīhu'd-Dīn, a courtier for whom the king entertained great regard.

When Shāh Wajīhu'd-Dīn, was urged by the *'Ulamā* to add his signature to the brief, he went personally to Muḥammad G͟haws͟h in order to hear his explanation of the objectionable passages in his book. Shāh Wajīhu'd-Dīn was so impressed with Muḥammad G͟haws͟h, that he refused to sign the brief on the ground that the passages in question were uttered in the state of ecstasy and hence beyond the purview of the jurisdiction of the 'Ulamā. In consequence, Muḥammad G͟haws͟h was acquitted of the charge of heresy and hailed as a saint. Shāh Wajīhu'd-Dīn himself became his disciple. [1]

Muḥammad G͟haws͟h was the author of several books which dealt for the most part with magic, incantations, and the methods of summoning the jinn. The most notable of his extant writings are, *Jawāhir-i-k͟hamsa* and *Awrād-i-G͟haws͟hiyya.* The saint died in A. D. 1562-63. and his tomb in Gwalior is famous as a place of pilgrimage.

Shāh Wajīhu'd-Dīn, succeeded Muḥammad G͟haws͟h, and in time came to be regarded as a famous saint of Gujrāt. He founded a great Madrasa, which was a centre of learning for the whole of that district and actually existed as late as A. D. 1820-21. He lived during the reigns of successive rulers of Gujrat, and witnessed its conquest by Akbar.

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[1] See Ghulam Sarwar *op. cit.* pp. 332-333.

He too was a notable author, and is said to have written about three hundred works, but of course this is gross exaggeration. Some of his writings may still be seen in the Library of Pīr Muḥammad Shāh in Aḥmadabad. He died in A. D. 1018 and was buried in the centre of his great Madrasa. Over his tomb a beautiful shrine was built by Murtaḍa Khān, the Governor of Gujrāt during the reign of Jahāngīr.

4. QALANDARI ORDER.

The meaning of word *qalandar* has not yet been satisfactorily defined. In an article written on the subject a few years ago, an Indian Ṣūfī claimed that it is derived from one of the names of God in Syriac.[1] Others have sought to find its derivation in the Persian *Kalāntar*, a chief man, or *Kalantar* a rough, uncouth man, but both of these are rejected by Rose as highly improbable. Further, the idea has been put forward that the term is derived from the Turkish *Qarinda* or *Qalandārī*, both meaning musical instruments, or again, that it is connected with the Turkish word *qāl*, meaning pure; but all such attempts to trace it to known word in various languages are beset with difficulties.

The term, whatever its meaning, is applied to an order of *faqīrs*, of which we have varying, descriptions. According to some writers these *fāqīrs* form a class of begging monks, but others speak of them as a tribe of nomads who make their living by conjuring and the exhibition of performing bears, etc. Others, again, give a more honourable account of its members, depicting them as a pious people who travel about, mostly without shoes, and practise the severest acts of austerity, and at times live in a state of ecstasy. [1] But in the hagiology of Indian Islam the Qalandariyya is an order of *faqīrs* who are so absorbed in religious reveries or overcome to such an extent by ecstatic experiences that they are unable to distinguish between things lawful and unlawful. Members of this order are distinguished by the fact that they shave their heads, eyebrows, moustaches and beards.

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[1] *Asrar-i-Tasawwuf*, Lahore, July 1925.

The first man known to have had the name Qalandar is said to have been 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Makkī. It has generally been believed that he was a companion of the Prophet himself. According to Ṣūfī legend he is not only still alive, but is said to have been living through the ages from the time of Abraham until now! In Pākpatan, close to the tomb of Bābā Farīd, a small mound (*sardāba*) is pointed out as the place inside of which he is said to be now existing though in a state of unconsciousness self-induced by the effect of *Ḥabs-i Dam*, the holding of the breath.

According to an account current in India, the Order was founded by Sayyid K͟hiḍr Rūmī Qalandar Khaprādārī, a disciple of 'Abdu'l-'Azīz Makkī. The word

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[1] For a fuller discussion on the term see Rose, *The Darvishes*. pp. 169-70.

Rūmī indicates that he belonged to Rūm, or Turkistān, while the title Khaprādārī is connected with a cup which he called *Khaprā*, and always carried with him. It is said that this cup possessed the miraculous quality of being able to supply to any one whatever was wanted.

The peculiarity of this Order whereby the members shave their heads, etc., is thus explained. Khiḍr Rūmī's *pīr*, 'Abdu'l-'Azīz owing to his very great age had lost all his hair, and his disciple in his ardent desire to imitate his master in every detail of his life and appearance, shaved off the hair of his face.

It is said that Khiḍr Rūmī once came to Delhi and there met Khwāja Quṭbu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī, who initiated him in the Chishtī Order and gave him the authority to make disciples in it. In return Khiḍr Rūmī received Quṭb-ud-Dīn in the Qalandarī order and bestowed upon him a like authority. Thus originated within the Chishtiyya a sub-section called the Chishtiyya-Qalandariyya ; and in the Qalandariyya called the Qalandariyya-Chishtiyya.

The biographers of Khiḍr Rūmī say that he was a contemporary of the following saints ; 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī, Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī, Mawlānā Bahā'u'd-Dīn the father of Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī, Badī'u'd-Dīn Shāh Madār, Farīdu'd-Dīn 'Aṭṭār and Farīdu'd-Dīn Shakarganj.

The Qalandarī Order was introduced into India by Sayyid Najmu'd-Dīn Ghawthu'd dahar Qalandar. The saint was at first a disciple of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Awlīyā of Delhi, but later at the suggestion of his *pīr* he went to

Rūm and became a disciple of Khiḍr Rūmī, who appointed him his vicegerent and sent him back to India. Najmu'd-Dīn is said to have journeyed twice to England and China and to have made the pilgrimage to Mecca forty-two times. Among his acts of austerity it is mentioned that once he fasted for a period of forty years, breaking his fast every evening with the leaves of the plum tree; and that, further, he remained seated for thirty years on one stone. His chest, we are also told, used to give out the sound of '*Hū*', the Ṣūfī's abbreviated name for God (Allah). Legend tells us that he lived to the great age of 200 years, and that he died in A. D. 1432. His shrine is at Mandu in Malwa, close to the palace of Sulṭān Muḥammad Ghawrī. He was succeeded by Quṭbu'd-Dīn Binādal Qalandar Sarandāz-i- Ghawthī. The title *Sarandāz* means one who casts away his head, and is said to have been given to him because at the time of performing Dhikr his head would become severed from his neck. He died in A. D. 1518 at the age of 145. He was the last of the Qalandari saints to have lived to over hundred years.

Another saint of this Order whose name is still venerated all over North India, was Sharfu'd-Dīn Bū'Alī Qalandar of Pānīpat. He at first held the office of a Muftī in Delhi and was a disciple of Shihābu'd-Dīn Chishtī, fourth in the line of succession from Quṭu'd-Dīn Bakhtiyār Kākī. The story goes that once when he was delivering a lecture and parading his learning, a *faqīr* stood at the door and said, "O Sharfu'd-Dīn, it is not for this that you were born—how long will you continue in such disputations ?" This gentle rebuke sank deep into his heart, and forsaking his office and the pulpit he began to seek peace in solitude. Eventually he cast away his books into the river Gumtī, and as an act of penance continued to stand knee-deep in its waters for several years. Then he heard a voice saying to him : "O Sharfu'd-Dīn, thine austerity has been accepted, ask whatsoever thou willest." He replied, "Nothing but Thee, and Thee alone." He was then told that his prayer had been heard, and he was orderd to come up out of the water. Sharfu'd-Dīn said, "If this is Thy desire take Thou me from this water by Thine own hand, as for myself I have no desire to leave this 'sea of love'." At the next moment he found that someone had lifted him up from the water and had placed him on the ground. Exasperated at the conduct of this stranger, he cried out, "Shame ! thou hast spoiled my labour of many years. But a few more moments and I would have attained my goal." The stranger replied, "I am 'Alī, and son-in-law of the Prophet ; art thou not aware that I am also known by the title of *yad Allah*, the hand of God ?" "Saying this 'Alī imparted to him spiritual power and disappeared. From that time he became a Qalandar. According to others he was initiated into the Qalandarī Order by Najmu'd-Dīn G͟hawt͟h Qalandar.

Sharfu'd-Dīn's teachings are contained in a series of letters addressed by him to his disciple Ik͟htiyāru'd-Dīn.

He died in A. D. 1324 and was buried at first in Karnāl, but the people of Pānīpat, claiming him to be a native of their city, disintered his body and re-buried it in their own city. There is a legend, however, which says that when the people of Pānīpat came to remove his body they were prevented from carrying out their design by some supernatural portent, and so they merely dug up a few bricks from the tomb and, placing these in a coffin, carried them away in procession. On reaching Pānīpat they opened the coffin and, to their great surprise, found his body in it! It is now supposed that he lies buried both at Pānīpat and Karnāl.

His *'urs* at any rate is held at both the places from the 9th. to 12th. Ramaḍān, during which days both shrines are illuminated and musical festivals are held.[1]

5. THE MALAMATI ORDER.

The designation Malāmatī is derived from *malāmat*, "blame," and signifies one who is "blameworthy." The term has been generally applied to the saints of this Order, as indicating that they stood in a special relation to God, and, in consequence, were not subject to the Divine ordinances. This however does not appear to have been the meaning which the early exponents of Ṣūfīsm attached to the word. Rather it was used by them for a mode of life sometimes adopted by the Ṣūfīs whereby they cloaked their sanctity by affecting the manners of the libertine.

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[1] For Qalandari saints see *Asrar-i-Tasawwuf*. Manzil-i-Naqshbandiyya, Lahore, July 1925. The above account of the Qalandari order is chiefly derived from this Sufi Journal.

The first saint to follow the path of *malāmatiyya* was Dhun Nūnu'l-Miṣrī who has been mentioned in the earlier chapter of this book (see pp. 19, 20). He was regarded by the *'Ulamā* of Egypt as a *zindīq* or freethinker. It was his disciple, Hamdunu'l-Qassār, who founded the Malāmatī Order. 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī speaking about him writes as follows: "He has many fine sayings on the subject. It is recorded that he said: *Al-malāmat tarku'l s-salāmat*, 'Blame is the abandonment of welfare.' If anyone purposely abandons his own welfare and girds himself to endure misfortune, and renounces his pleasures and familiar ties, in hope that the glory of God will be revealed to him, the more he is separated from mankind the more he is united to God."[1]

The order was introduced into Constantinople by Shaykh Ḥamza, a Mullā of Brusa, in the 16th. century. There the *malāmatīs* came to be known as Ḥamzawīs, after the name of Ḥamza. They formed a secret Order, with an organization strikingly like that of the Freemasons. "Shaykh Ḥamza was executed soon after the accession of Sulṭān Murād (111), apparently in A.D. 1575. The ground of his condemnation was said to be his excessive reverence for the Lord Jesus, and he was sentenced to be stoned at the Hippodrome, but out of fear of a popular outbreak, as soon as he was brought out of his prison his throat was cut. One wonders if he was influenced by Qābiz, founder of the Khumbasīhis a sect which held Jesus to be morally superior to Muhammad. He too, had been executed with exemplary promptitude in 1527."[1]

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[1] *Kashf ul-Mahjub. p.* 66.

It is a fact that from the early days of Ṣūfīsm, there have appeared from time to time men of this type who have led the life of a libertine under the pretext of being followers of the Malāmatī Order. 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī writing as early as the eleventh century A. D. says: "He who abandons the law and commits an irreligious act, and says that he is following the rule of "blame," is guilty of manifest wrong and wickedness and self-indulgence. There are many in the present age who seek popularity by this means, forgetting that one must already have gained popularity before deliberately acting in such a way as to make the people reject him; otherwise, his making himself unpopular is a mere pretext for winning popularity." Describing the true principles of the Malāmatiyya, 'Alīu'l-Hujwirī writes: "Now blame (*malāmat*) is of three kinds: it may result (1) from following the right way (*malāmat-i-rāst raftan*), or (2) from an intentional act (*malāmat-i-qasd kardan*), or (3) from abandonment of the law (*malāmat-i-tark kardan*). In the first case, a man is blamed who minds his own business and performs his religious duties and does not omit any practice of devotion: he is entirely indifferent to the behaviour of the people towards him. In the second case a man is greatly honoured by the people and pointed out among them: his heart inclines to the honour in which he is held, and becomes attached to those by whom it is bestowed: he wishes to make himself independent of them and devote himself wholly to God; therefore he purposely incurs their blame by committing some act which is offensive to them but which is no violation of the law: in consequence of his behaviour they wash their hands of him. In the third case, a man is driven by his natural infidelity and erroneous beliefs to abandon the sacred law and abjure its observances, and say to himself, "I am treading the path of blame:" in this case his behaviour depends on himself alone." Alīu'l-Hujwirī has given several anecdotes to illustrate the correct meaning of Malāmatiyya. One such runs as follows: "A story is told about Abū Yazīd, that, when he was entering Rayy on his way from the Ḥijāz, the people of that city ran to meet him in order that they might show him honour. Their attentions distracted him and turned his thoughts away from God. When he came to the bazaar, he took a loaf from his sleeve and began to eat. They all departed, for it was the month of Ramaḍān. He said to a disciple who was travelling with him: "You see! as soon as I perform a single article of the law, they all reject me.".[1] Abū Yazīd, being at that time on a journey, was not legally bound to observe the fast.

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[1] Rose, *The Darvishes*, p. 230.

Several of the Malāmatī sections have been noted in the description of the Suhrawardī Order. A few further types of the *faqīrs* of this Order may be briefly described here. These it is true have no direct connection with Ṣūfism, but are interesting inasmuch as their peculiarities have had a certain amount of influence upon the masses.

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[1] *Kashf ul,-Mahjub*, p. 65.

(1) Libertines, who drink intoxicants and lead a free life and do not practise any religious duty. They claim to be the followers of Jalālu'd-Dīn Rūmī or Fak͟hru'd-Dīn 'Irāqī. Their life, of course, is in manifest contradiction to their claim.

(2) *Faqīrs* who take opium, Indian hemp and other drugs, as they say, to produce quiescence of spirit. Sometimes, however, the noxious drugs are taken in excessive doses in order to stimulate the imagination and craving for exaltation of their mind ; but in reality the effect is such as to make them wild and terrible. These *Faqīrs* claim to belong the Qādirī and Suhrawardī orders.

(3) There are those who are devoted to music, and feign ecstasy. They imitate the Ṣūfīs of the Chishtī Order in their external practices, but do not follow the precepts of Islam.

(4) Others are given to hallucinations, and because of their wild talk have come to be looked upon as Ṣūfīs.

EPILOGUE.

The Indian Ṣūfīsm has largely been built upon the mystical ideas of Persia where it reached the point of its highest attainment by the fifteenth century. The situation has been historically summarised in the following words of Evelyn Underhill : "Muhammadan mysticism, appearing in the eighth century in the beautiful figure of Rābi'a the 'Muslim St. Teresa' (717-831), and continued by the martyr Al-Ḥallāj, (ob. 922), attains literary expression in the eleventh in the 'Confession' of Al-Ghazālī (1055-1111), and has its classic period in the thirteenth in the works of the mystic poets 'Aṭṭār (c. 1140-1234), Sa'dī (1184-1263), and the saintly Jalālu'd-Dīn (1207-1273). Its tradition is continued in the fourteenth century by the rather erotic mysticism of Ḥāfiẕ (c. 1300-1388) and his successors, and in the fifteenth by the poet Jāmī (1414 1492.)" [1]

In the opinion of the same author the note of decadence of the mysticism of Islam was struck at the time of Ḥāfiẕ, but it will not be far from the truth to say that in spite of signs of deterioration it continued to progress till the beginning of the sixteenth century. It then reached a point from which there was no hope of further progress. But its divergence from orthodox Islam started long before it began to deteriorate. In its course of progress it gathered elements which were foreign to Islam, and so now in its doctrine of God, in its outlook upon life, and in its conception of the relation of man to God, it differs to a very great extent from the early Islam preached by Muhammad. A Ṣūfī whether a *Wujūdī* or *Shuhūdī*, *i. e.*, a monist or modified pantheist, is never in his theology an *Ijādī*, one who believes that God created the universe out of nothing. Further, the practice of paying an excessive homage to the saints and worship at shrines cannot be reconciled with the religious duties based on the rigid monotheistic teachings of Islam. Nevertheless the extraordinary thing is that though the present form of Ṣūfism is made up of elements many of which contradict the teachings of the Quran it has found an abiding place in Islam and is integrally related to it. It is now woven in the very texture of the orthodox faith of the Muslims. A pious Muslim some time or other in his life generally gets initiated into some Religious Order. Such initiation in many cases may mean nothing beyond a simple *bay'at* repenting of one's sins and making a profession of faith at the hand of some *pīr*, and then promising to be a good Muslim in future, but it also gives the right to belong to that particular Order and grants the privilege of being reckoned as a spiritual child of the saint who had founded that Order. Thus it is not uncommon to find a Muslim calling himself by such titles as Ḥanafī Qādirī, or Ḥanafī Qādirī Chishtī, which indicate that in the matters of the Canon Law he belongs to the Ḥanafī School of Jurisprudence and at the same time by virtue of his *bay'at* to a *pīr* he belongs to the Qādirī or to the Qādirī and Chishtī Orders in Ṣūfism.

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[1] *Mysticism*, p. 462.

This incidentally illustrates that the point of primary importance is not the teaching but the Shaykh. Ṣūfism in action centres round the personality of its several Shaykhs or *pīrs*. It is they who in its development have contributed from their own personal experience and thus have given rise to multifarious forms all of which to a great extent are the expressions of the inner experience of the founders. This explains the existence of varieties of mystical teachings in Taṣawwuf. The pantheism of Ḥallāj, the monism of Ibnu'l-'Arbī, the emotionalism of the saints of the Chishtī Order, the legalism of the Khwājas of the Naqshbandī Order, the high ethical standard of al-Ghazālī, the sensuous symbolism of Ḥāfiẓ, the magical display of Gurzmār faqīrs, the strange peculiarities of the Qalandars, the antinomian tendency of the Malāmatīs are all found existing under the name of Taṣawwuf in Islam and are tolerated by the leaders of the different mystical schools. Even a way has been found to justify the extreme pantheistic expressions like those of Ḥallāj and Bāyazīd, which otherwise would be condemned as blasphemy. The term *Shaṭḥiyāt* has been invented to be applied to all such expressions of the Ṣūfīs which if uttered by a non-Ṣūfī, will be considered blasphemous. A Ṣūfī, no matter what his doctrinal beliefs and mode of living are, above all is God's

'Ashīq, a lover, and as such he stands in a different relation to God from others who are merely *'abd*, slaves. It is this peculiar relation that a Ṣūfī has with God that entitles him to act and speak in a manner which would be highly presumptuous and even blasphemous in others.

It is because of this element of love that Ṣūfism has been the source of vitality to Islam. It bears out the truth of what some one has said "Dogma and duty are not the whole of a religion. There are in our nature needs of loving and of suffering, as well as of believing and doing; and no faith that does not contain something to satisfy these needs could ever have wielded that vast power which, as a matter of fact, has been and is being exercised by Muhammadanism. Hence the importance of the school to which the name of Ṣūfīs is generally given."[1]

It is chiefly because of this element of love that it has appealed to the masses and has inspired the poetical works in the Persian and Urdu languages. If the mystical element in Persian and Urdu songs and poetry were lost, one wonders what would be left. It is true that the eloquence of the Quran is regarded by the Muslims as an outstanding miracle, but the part that the mystical poetry plays in the lives of Muslims is in some ways greater than that of the Quran itself. To a Muslim the Arabic Quran is the sublime word of God, but the mystic song speaks in a language that is easily understood for it speaks in terms of love and appeals to the deepest emotion. It rouses in his heart the innermost longing for union with God. This is what led Dr. Pusey to observe that the speedy growth of mystical doctrine in the thin and arid soil of Muhammadanism also bears eloquent witness to the longing innate in the human heart for union with God. [1]

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[1] Williams S. Lilly *Many Mansions*, p. 118.

There is another sense in which Ṣūfism in its working process may be said to be a source of vitality to Islam. It provides various means by which a man can give expression to his religious feelings. It is because in its system it is not so rigid and stern as are the precepts of Sharī'at in Islam. This is best illustrated in the striking difference that one can see between the worshippers in a Mosque gathered for congregational prayer and the devotees of a saint when they assemble in a shrine to pay homage to him. In a Mosque the prayers are offered in a solemn, dignified and orderly manner according to the prescribed details, but in a shrine one can see men. women and children all giving expressions to their inner feelings of devotion to the man whom they believe was a lover of God, and though his remains lie buried in tomb, yet he lives and receives their homage, hears their prayers and intercedes on their behalf. There in his shrine or *dargāh*, the royal court as they call it, they are free to honour him in the manner that they would choose and to express their love in whatever form they like. Of the crowd of worshippers, therefore, some would fall prostrate, some would stand with their hands spread out and some would go round the tomb as the pilgrims do in Mecca round the Kaaba.

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[1] Quoted in *op. cit.* p. 119.

This of course, does not mean that the shrines of different saints have no fixed forms of devotion. In a shrine while masses are free to show their devotion to the saint according to their inner urge there is to be found also a uniform method of offering the *Fātiḥa*, or of making a *mannat* or vow to be fulfilled when a favour is granted. Similarly one may find set methods of *murāqiba* or meditation, and the custom of tying a thread or a piece of rag to the railing or the door of a shrine as a reminder to the saint of the favour asked by the devotee, and the practice of lighting a lamp, especially on Thursday, the two latter being universally observed. On the other hand as one goes from one shrine to another one can also notice distinctive features. The monotonous chanting of Illallāh, or Allāhū, or simply Hū accompanied with the movement of the body from right to left which grows faster and faster, the *Samā*ʻ, or the musical festival accompanied with *raqṣ*, or dancing of the devotees though not quite peculiar to the Ṣūfīs of the Chishtī Order, are yet outstanding features of this Order's worship. The emphasis on the observance of the sharīʻat alongside Ṣūfī practice to the exclusion of D̲h̲ikr-i-jalī, marks the Naqshbandī Order. The piercing of the body and playing with red hot iron are feats exclusively appropriate to the Gurzmār faqīrs. To be suspended by the feet while in the state of ecstasy is the peculiar custom found only among the Naushāhīs. Similarly the Qalandars with their head, beard, eye-brows and moustaches clean shaven, wandering from place to place, the Rasūl Shāhīs indulging in intoxication, the Malāmatīs leading the life of libertines all go to show the peculiar and strange practices tolerated in present-day Ṣūfīsm.

Ṣūfism, however, is best illustrated in the indigenous songs and poems of the Ṣūfīs which are sung by the native faqīrs. For this reason we now proceed to give a metrical translation of a Punjabi sacred lyric which may be regarded as typical of modern Ṣūfī literature in India. This poem is entitled, *Si Ḥarfī Dholla'*, *i. e.*, a lyric of thirty 'stanzas in praise of the Beloved. The poet's nom de plume is Ṭālib. The poem is one of those which are often sung to the accompaniment of music, usually a *sārangī*, or fiddle. This was originally translated by Professor R. Sirajuddin and Rev. H. A. Walter, both of Lahore and we give it with some alterations. This poem is a thoroughly native, pure Punjabi poem, the popularity of which is evidenced by the fact that it is used as an early morning hymn by the street singers who go about singing such songs, partly as religious worship and partly with the object of receiving alms.

1.

Come, Love, within the soul Thy dwelling place doth lie,
Thy distant home desert, and to my fond heart fly !
Thou sayst Thou dost bide than the neck vein more nigh, [1]
Yet, vexing one, Thy form is veiled before mine eye.

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[1] cp. Quran 50 : 15.

2.

O, Love, deceive no more ! Thy fickle words forsake !
Without us and within Thy dwelling Thou dost take.
My heart, with wiles bewitched, a captive Thou dost make:
Then into words of scorn Thy mocking accents break.

3.

Oh, Love, for all our woes no pity hast Thou shown,
Exiled from Home, to pine in far off realms alone.
Through Thy false deed, Who once had made our souls Thine own,
In this strange land, alas, no peace my heart hath known!

4.

Thou only art ; all else is unearthly.
Why press this vain debate if one or separate we ?
Since, when Thy face is shown, my sighs Thy grief must be,
And in my prayers for death, my tears are of Thee.

5.

I sleep, and at my side Love sinks in slumber deep:
When first my eyes unclose, He rouses, too, from sleep.
I laugh, He shouts for joy ; His tears fall when I weep:
Yet bargains He, nor cares my plighted hours to keep.

6.

None knows my state save Love ; for no one else 'twere meet.
I sacrifice my all, an offering at Love's feet.
Each moment yearns my heart its guileless Love to greet:
Unless Love quickly come, this heart must cease to beat.

7.

'Twas told that the Beloved to holy Mecca came:
That never man should know He chose Muhammad's name.
Medina, now, His home : and Talib's[1] fond lips frame
Prayers for "God's peace" on Him, and His high service claim.

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[1] Talib, meaning a seeker of God, is the nom de plume of the poet.

8.[1]

A gift I crave whose sight sweet thoughts of Thee shall start;
With ring from Thy dear hand, or necklace, Thou must part.
In Hindustan, my home ; Thou in Medina art.
Slain by Thy love, what sins had soiled my helpless heart?

9.

By telling o'er Thy name each passing hour I grace.
Leave town and vale and make my heart Thy resting place.
Love reigns the Lord of all ; His, earth and sky and space.
Since Thou hast made me Thine, whom else should I embrace?

10.

If e'er my lips, unsealed. Thy mystery reveal, [2]
From mighty rivers' depths great flames of fire will steal,
Blood from God's throne will rain, the stars will earthward reel.
Ah, Love, what streams can cool when these hot fires I feel ?

11.

My years of youth were spent in doleful tears and sighs.
Now, to my aged heart, Love's winged arrow flies.
Bring hither my Beloved, the darling of mine eyes.
Talib's true love from heart as well as tongue doth rise.

12.

My artless Love goes by nor casts on me His eyes.
Heedless, He passes by; counsel Him, O, ye wise !
Medina, now, I seek, there my sole refuge lies.
O, Talib, plead thy love, till from His course He hies.

---

[1] From this stanza onward the disciple speaks of himself as a woman, a bride, a wife, and uses the feminine gender for himself, and the masculine for the Divine Beloved.

[2] This refers to the esoteric truth of the Sufis, supposed to have originated with Muhammad, to which the Sufi's lips must ever remain sealed.

13.

Beloved, my heart yearns to see Medina fair,
All hidden grief and pain to lay before Thee there.
Long years have sped since Love left me to lone despair.
All men, O Talib, now toward Thee some malice bear.

14.

Apart from the Beloved, no comfort can I gain.
Should one Love's *kalima* read, these inward fires might wane.
Remembering Love my lifeless heart revives again.
O, let Love learn, at last, my piteous cries of pain!

15.

Thou who my surety art, O Love, stir not away.
Summon me to Thyself, and share my grief, I pray.
Secure my pardon, Love for I have gone astray.
To my dead soul give life, and sinless I shall stay.

16.

Mount Sinai's lofty height my Love hath put to shame.
Mounting the throne on high, all-holy God, His name.
To tread Medina's streets, as the Beloved, He came;
Now, guiding on the Path, as Chishti, spread His fame.

17.

Inside and out my Love holds His high Sovereignty:
In every place He dwells, the First and Last is He.
Save only the Beloved, none other can there be.
I live but by His life, Love's own eternally.

18.

From the great Presence sought, Thy bounteous Love I own.
Afar or near, O Love, I see but Thee alone.
All from Thy light have come—no other source have known.
Send pardon from Thyself, nor bid my steps begone.

19.

Never to know my Love were no man's mournful fate.
To her who is Love's bride my life I consecrate.
For her whom Love hath called, with welcome all would wait.
That Love mine arm would hold, my longing passionate.

20.

Stricken to death, I lie, crushed by Thy beauty's wave.
In Thy love's ocean vast my soul hath found its grave,
In every town men's tongue for Thee their tribute save,
To Thee our lives we yield : to see Thy face we crave.

21.

This daily task to do, of old my destiny—
That I His praise proclaim, whenever Love summons me.
O, friends, I am consumed ; Love's form I cannot see.
My Love hath learned to work with what strange witchery!

22.

Who, from the path of Love, my steps shall turn aside ?
My life, if Love desire, to Him would I confide.
Love will not faithless be ; my trust hath time defied.
Since Love hath held mine arm, with me He must abide.

23.

Love, I am slain, whom man with gibes and taunts assail.
My heart Medina craves, for justice there to wail.
Come, O, my Love, behold, I have removed my veil.
Credence my witness wins to Thy dear beauty's tale.

24.

In the Beloved's way, friends, I am lost to sight.
Then lest I be not found, let all in search unite!
This very Love, the thief—O, seize His arm with might!
A seeker after Love, know me by day and night.

25.

"Negation's" [1] medicine, Love, for mine eyes was brought;
And now, save only Love, I can distinguish naught.
Love's citadel He showed, with every splendour fraught.
Love, I am lost indeed : what magic hast Thou wrought?

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[1] *Nafi athbat*. See p. 100.

26.

Love, I would die for Thee. most ravishing Thy grace.
Bring news, O, friends, from whence come the Beloved's face.
My soul with joy grows faint, and faster, my heart's pace.
What if, this morn, should come Love's step and His embrace.

27.

My necklace is God's praise, wherewith I am arrayed.
My ear-rings are the prayer, "God's peace" my lips have prayed.
Love, on my heart for gems, longing for God hath laid.
The nuptial bed I mount, invoking Chishti's aid.

28.

The heavenly lightnings flash, and blazing fountains spout.
With Sinai's splendour clothed, my glory shines about.
Love, entering at last, "My follower", calls out.
Beings of lights and fire and earth, [1] "God's blessing" shout.

29.

To meet Love, as He comes, with bended head I go,
"God's benediction" ask, and at Love's feet bow low.
This hand-maid's ministry. unworthy, all must know.
Talib, Thy slave to keep—this boon, O, Love, bestow.

30.

How bountifully, Love, Thy gracious mercies fall.
Ever Thy faith I own, Thy *Kalima* recall ;
Ever at Thy blest tomb, I sacrifice my all ;
Ever on Chishti, Guide, with grateful spirit, call.

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[1] That is, angels, jinn and men, who, as the Muslims believe are created out of light, fire and clay respectively, See Quran, 15 : 26, 27 and 4 : 13, 14.

APPENDIX A

List of the saints of Indian Ṣūfism arranged chronologically.

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order.

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine.
1.	*Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Ajmerī [1]	1236	Ajmer
2.	*Quṭbu'd-Dīn Kākī [2]	1237	Delhi
3.	*Shamsu'd-Dīn Altamash	1237	Delhi
4.	*Jalālu'd-Dīn Tabrezī	1244	Bengal
5.	Muḥammad Turk	1245	Narnol
6.	Badru'd-Dīn Ghaznawī	1259	Delhi
7.	Jamālu'd-Dīn	1261	Hansi

---

[1] He collected the sayings of his pīr, Khwāja 'Uthmān Hārūnī, under the title of *Anīsu'l-Arwāḥ*. Friend of Spirituals. His own teachings are found in the collections made by several of the saints of the Chishtī Order and also in his letters, *Maktūbāt*.

[2] He collected the sayings of eight Ṣūfī saints of the Chishtī Order who had preceded him in a book and called it *Hasht Bahisht*, Eight Paradises. He also wrote *Dalīlu'l-'Arifīn*. The Proof of the Mystics.

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
8.	*Farīdu'd-Dīn Shakarganj [1]	1266	Pakpatan
9.	Najību'd-Dīn Mutawakkil	1272	Ghiyaspur (Delhi)
10.	Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Abu'l-Mu'ayyid	1273	Delhi
11.	Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Ṣūfī	1274	Nagore
12.	Qāḍī Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn	1279	Nagore
13.	Dā'ūd Pālhī	1281	Delhi
14.	Imām 'Alī Lāḥaq	1287	Sialkot
15.	Burhānu'd-Dīn Maḥmūd Abu'l-Khayr	1288	Delhi
16.	*'Alāu'd-Dīn Aḥmad Ṣābir	1291	Piran-i-Kaliar
17.	Badru'd-Dīn b.' Alī Isḥāq [2]	1291	Ajodhan

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1. He is said to be the author of the following books on Ṣūfism: *Jawāhir-i-Farīdī*, The Gems of Farīd, *Irshād-i-Farīdī*, The Instructions of Farīd, *Tadhkiratu'l-Fuqarā*, The Memoirs of Ascetics, *Fawā'idu's-Sālikīn*, The Things Beneficent to the Travellers. The last named being the collection of the sayings of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā of Delhi.

2. He is reputed to be the author of the famous book on Ṣūfism, *Asrāru'l-Awliyā*, 'The Mysteries of the Saints.'

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
18.	Muntakhabu'd-Dīn [1]	1296	Deogiri (Deccan)
19.	Sayyid Muḥammad b. Sayyid Maḥmūd Kirmānī	1311	Delhi
20.	Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Shīrazī	1318	Delhi
21.	*Shamsu'd-Dīn Turk	1318	Panipat
22.	Qāḍī Muḥīu'd-Dīn Kāshānī	1319	Delhi
23.	Khwāja' Alāu'd-Dīn b. Shaykh Badru'd-Dīn	1320	Pakpatan
24.	Shamsu'd-Dīn	1320	Zafarabad
25.	*Sharfu'd-Dīn Bū 'Alī Qalandar [2]	1324	Karnal & Panipat

---

[1] He preached Islam in Deogiri. It is said that many who refused to accept Islam on his preaching were turned into stones.

[2] He wrote the following books on Ṣūfism: *Maktūbāt*, 'Epistles'. *Ḥikmat Nāma*, 'The Book of Wisdom'. *Ḥukum Nāma Shaykh Bū 'Alī Qalandar*, 'The Commands of Bū 'Alī Qalandar. *Mathnawī Bū 'Alī Qalandar*.

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
26.	*Niẕāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā [1]	1325	Delhi
27.	*Amīr Khusrū [2]	1325	Delhi
28.	Mo'ayid'ud-Dīn	1326	Delhi
29.	Wajīhu'd-Dīn Yūsuf	1329	Chanderi
30.	Muḥammad Imām [3]	1335	Delhi
31.	Ḥisāmu'd-Dīn	1335	Pakpatan
32.	Fakhru'd-Dīn Rāzī	1336	Delhi

---

[1] His sayings have been collected by several of his disciples, the most famous of these is *Fawāidu'l-Fuwād*, "The Beneficent to the Heart."

[2] He is known as the Chaucer of Urdu literature. The number of his works is said to have been equal to the number of the names of God, ninety-nine, and the number of his poems is said to have amounted to five hundred thousands. But this must be an exaggeration. He ranks very high also in Persian literature and is known widely as *Ṭūṭī-i-Hind*, the parakeet of India. He was the first to employ Persian metres in Urdu and his famous production *Khāliq Bārī*, a rhymed vocabulary of Arabic and Persian words in common use explained in Urdu is still widely read by Youths. The authorship of *Rāḥatu'l-Muḥibbīn*, '*The joy of the Lovers,*' a book on Ṣūfism is ascribed to him.

[3] He was a grandson of Bābā Farīd and wrote *Anwāru'l-Majālis*, 'The Illumination of the Assemblies', in which he collected the sayings of Niẕāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā (see 26).

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
33.	Mīr Ḥasan ‘Alī Sanjarī [1]	1336	Deogiri (Deccan)
34.	Ḍiyāu'd-Dīn Barnī [2]	1338	Delhi
35.	Burhānu'd-Dīn Gharīb	1340	Deogiri
36.	Ḥisāmu'd-Dīn Sokhta	1341	Sanbhar (Ajmer)
37.	‘Azīzu'd-Dīn Ṣūfī	1341	Delhi
38.	Shamsu'd-Dīn Yaḥyā	1345	Delhi
39.	Malikzāda Aḥmad	1346	Delhi
40.	Shaykh Dāniāl	1347	Satrakh (near Lucknow)
41.	Fakhru'd-Dīn Zarādī	1347	Was drowned on his way to Mecca
42.	Ḍiyā'ud-Dīn Bakhshī [3]	1350	Budaun

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[1] He was one of the vicegerents of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā (26) and collected the sayings of his *pīr* in what is now well-known as *Fawāidu'l-Fawād* 'Beneficent to the Heart'.

[2] A vicegerent of Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā (26) and the author of the famous historical treatise, *Tārikh-i-Firoz Shāhī*, 'The History of Firoz Shah'. He wrote his own mystical experience under the title of *Ḥasrat Nāma*, 'The Book of Regret.'

[3] He was one of the vicegerents of Bābā Farīd (8) and wrote *Silku's-Sulūk*, 'The Mystic Path and *Sharḥ-i-Du'ā-i-Suryānī*, 'A Commentary on a Syrian Prayer' and other books on Ṣūfism.

******Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
43.	Farīdu'd-Dīn [1]	1351	Nagore
44.	Kamālu'd-Dīn 'Allāma	1353	Delhi
45.	*Naṣīru'd Dīn Chirāg͟h-i-Dehlī [2]	1356	Delhi
46.	Ak͟hī Sirāju'd-Dīn	1357	Bengal
47.	Ṣadru'd-Dīn Ḥākim	1358	Delhi
48.	Quṭbu'd-Dīn Munawwar	1359	Hansi
49.	'A̱lā'u'd-Dīn Nabīlī	1361	Delhi
50.	Sirāju'd-Dīn	1361	Patan (Ahmedabad)
51.	Jalālu'd-Dīn Kabīru'l-Awliyā	1364	Panipat
52.	Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Qalandar [3]	1367	Delhi
53.	Sayyid Muḥammad b. Mubārak Kirmānī [4]	1368	Delhi

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[1] He wrote *Surūru'ṣ-Ṣudūr*, 'The Gladness of Hearts' in which he collected the sayings of Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn Nagorī (see 12).

[2] The authorship of *Ādābu'ṭ-Ṭālibīn*, 'The Manners of the Seekers,' and *Intibāhu'l-Murīdīn*, 'The Awakening of the Disciples', are ascribed to him.

[3] He is said to have written *K͟hayru'l-Majālis*, 'The Best of the Assemblies' which gives a collection of the sayings of Naṣīru'd-Dīn Chirāg͟h-i-Delhī (see 54).

[4] He was one of the vicegerents of Naṣīru'd-Dīn (45) and wrote *Sayru'l-Āwliyā* 'Lives of the Saints'.

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
54.	Yūsuf Chishtī [1]	1372	Delhi
55.	Tāju'd-Dīn	1382	Narnol
56.	Abu'l-Fataḥ	1386	Jaunpur
57.	'Abdu'l-Muqtadir [2]	1389	Jaunpur
58.	'Alā'u'd-Dīn 'Alāu'l-Ḥaq	1398	Panduah
59.	Mawlānā Khwājagī	1398	Kalpi
60.	Mīr Sayyid Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī [3]	1405	Kachaucha
61.	'Alīmu'd-Dīn	1406	Patna
62.	Nūru'l-Ḥaq	1410	Panduah
63.	Shaykh Aḥmad	1417	Kalpi
64.	Fataḥu'llāh	1418	Oudh

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[1] He was a vicegerent of Naṣīru'd-Dīn (see 45) and wrote *Tuḥfatu'n-Naṣā'iḥ*, 'A Present of Good Counsels.'

[2] He was a vicegerent of Naṣīru'd-Dīn (see 45) and wrote *Munāqibu'ṣ-Ṣiddīqīn*, 'Virtues of Good People', containing the accounts of Ṣūfī saints.

[3] Kachaucha, the seat of his shrine, is well-known for exorcism. His biography, *Kitāb-i-Āshrafī*, 'The Book of Ashraf', is a popular book among the Ṣūfīs of India. He himself is the author of two books on Ṣūfism, *Bishāratu'l-Murīdīn*, 'Good News for the Disciples', and *Maktūbāt* a collection of letters.

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
65.	*Mīr Sayyid Muḥammad Gesū Darāz [1]	1422	Gulbarga (Deccan)
66.	Muḥammad Mutawakkil Kantorī	1422	Bahraich
67.	Shaykh Yūsuf Irchī	1431	Malwa
68.	Shaykh Aḥmad 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq [2]	1433	Radauli
69.	Sher Khān Bak [3]	1433	Delhi
70.	Qawwāmu'd-Dīn	1438	Lucknow
71.	Qāḍī Shihābu'd-Dīn	1444	Daulatabad
72.	Nūru'd-Dīn Quṭb 'Ālam Bangālī	1447	Panduah
73.	Shaykh Kabīr	1453	Gujrat

---

[1] His sayings have been collected by one of his disciples. Muḥammad, under the title of *Jawāmi'u'l-Kalām*, 'The Collection of Sayings.' He himself was a vicegerent of Nasīru'd-Dīn (45).

[2] He was a vicegerent of Jalālu'd-Dīn (51). His disciples when meet with each other say, 'Ḥaq, Ḥaq! the Truth, the Truth. In this salutation a reference is found to the name of the saint himself.

[3] He wrote several books in prose and poetry on various subjects. Among his books on Ṣūfism are, *Yūsuf-o-Zulaykhā*, written in imitation of the famous book of the same name by Jāmī, and *Mirātu'l-'Ārifīn*, 'The Mirror of the Mystics.'

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
74.	Abu'l-Fataḥ 'Alā'ī Qurayshī	1457	Kalpi
75.	Shaykh Muḥammad Maynā	1465	Lucknow
76.	Kākū Shāh [1]	1477	Lahore
77.	Sa'du'd-Dīn [2]	1477	Khairabad
78.	Shāh Miyānjī Beg	1484	Mandu
79.	Sayyid Muḥammad b. Ja'far [3]	1486	Sirhind
80.	Shaykh Muḥammad Rājan [4]	1495	Ahmedabad and Pak Patan
81.	Shaykh Junayd	1495	Hissar

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[1] His shrine was supposed to be in Shahidganj, Lahore, once famous for the Sikh-Muslim dispute.

[2] He was a disciple of Shaykh Maynā (75) and wrote a commentary on the *Futūḥāt-i-Makkiya* in which he has incorporated much of the sayings of his *pīr* as well as incidents from his life. He also wrote *Majma'u's-Sulūk*, containing the sayings of Shyakh Maynā and Makhdum-i-Jahāniyān.

[3] He was one of the vicegerents of Naṣīru'd-Dīn (45) and was an author of several books on religious subjects. The following books he wrote on Ṣūfism: *Baḥrul-Ma'ānī*, 'Ocean of Things Spiritual,' *Daqā'iqu'l-Mā'ānī*, 'The Minute Details of Things Spiritual,' *Ḥaqā'iqu'l-Ma'ānī*, 'The Realities of Things Spiritual,' *Āsrār-i-Rūḥ*, 'Mysteries of Soul.'!

[4] He was first buried in Ahmedabad and later his body was exhumed and buried in Pak Patan.

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
82.	Shaykh Ḥusayn [1]	1496	Nagore
83.	Rājī Ḥamīd Shāh	1496	Manikpur
84.	Shaykh Ḥasan Ṭāhir	1503	Delhi
85.	Shaykh Bakhtiyār	1503	Radauli
86.	Shaykh Maḥammad 'Isā	1505	Jaunpur
87.	Mawlānā Allāh Dād	1514	Jaunpur
88.	Shaykh Aḥmad Mājid Shaybānī	1529	Nagore
89.	Shaykh Muḥammad Ḥasan	1537	Delhi
90.	'Abdu'l-Quddūs Gangohī	1538	Gangoh (Delhi)
91.	'Abdu'l-Kabīr Bālā Pīr	1540	,, ,,
92.	Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn	1540	Jaunpur
93.	Shaykh Khānū	1540	Gwalior
94.	Shaykh 'Alā'u'd-Dīn	1541	Delhi
95.	Sayyid Sulṭān	1542	Bahraich
96.	Sayyid 'Ali Qawwām	1543	Jaunpur
97.	Shaykh Yūsuf	1543	Burhanpur
98.	Shaykh Amān [2]	1549	Panipat

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[1] He wrote *Sawāniḥ Imām Ghazālī*, 'The Life of Imām Ghazālī,' and *Tafsīr-i-Nūrun Nabī*, 'A Commentary on the Light of Muḥammad,' the latter being in 30 volumes.

[2] He wrote *Ithbātu'l-Aḥdiyyat*, 'The Positiveness of the Oneness,' and a commentary on the *Lawā'iḥ of* Jāmī.

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
99.	Shaykh Ḥamza Daharsū	1549	Narnol
100.	Shaykh Ḥisāmu'd-Dīn	1553	Multan
101.	Mir Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Awwal[1]	1560	Delhi
102.	Shaykh Qāḍī Khān	1562	Zafarabad
103.	Shaykh Ajodhan	1567	Jaunpur
104.	Shaykh Salīm	1568	Fatehpur Sikri
105.	Shaykh Ḥasan Muḥammad	1573	Ahmedabad
106.	Naqī Ḥāyik[2]	1574	Manikpur
107.	Muḥammad Ṭāhir[3]	1576	Gujrat
108.	Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Pikhārī	1577	Burhanpur
109.	Piyārā Chishtī	1578	Gujrat
110.	Jalālu'd-Dīn	1581	Thaneswar
111.	Rizqu'llāh[4]	1581	Delhi
112.	'Uthmān Zinda Pīr	1582	Panipat

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[1] He was a descendant of Mīr Sayyid Gesū Darāz (65). He is an author of many books on various subjects, the chief of these is *Fayḍu'l-Bārī*, a commentary on the collections of traditions by al-Bukhārī. He is reputed to have written several treatises on Ṣūfism also.

[2] His name is used as an incantation for the cure of snake-bite.

[3] He is an author of several treatises on tradition.

[4] He wrote several treatises on Ṣūfism in Persian and Hindi. The famous ones in Hindi are *Jūt Niranjan* and *Sār Bachan*.

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
113.	Sa'du'd-Din Buddhan [1]	1585	Khayrabad
114.	Shaykh Niẓām	1591	Narnol
115.	Shaykh Ṭāhā	1592	Ahmedabad
116.	Shaykh Math [2]	1595	Gagrun
117.	Mawlānā 'Abdullāh [3]	1597	Sultanpur
118.	Ikhtiyāru'd-Dīn	1602	Kalpi
119.	Sayyid Jiw	1606	Delhi
120.	Mīr 'Abdu'l-Wāḥid [4]	1608	Belgram
121.	Ḥājī Awes Tūzī	1608	Kasur
122.	Aḥmad Sa'īd Shoryānī	1609	Kasur
123.	Niẓāmu'd-Dīn b. 'Uthmān Zinda Pīr	1609	Panipat

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[1] He wrote a commentary on the *Futūḥāt-i-Makkiya* of Ibn 'Arabī.

[2] The stones and pebbles of Gagrun because of him are believed to possess the power of healing the patients suffering from cholera. A piece of stone generally from the neighbourhood of his shrine, is taken and washed and the water is given to the patient for drinking.

[3] For his antagonism to Shi'a Islam and also because of his oppositions to Akbar's new religion, *Dīn-i-Ilāhī*, he was first exiled and then on his return from Mecca was poisoned, it is said, by the order of the Emperor.

[4] He produced a treatise on technical terms of Ṣūfism in poetry and also several other books on the subject of mysticism.

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
124.	Shaykh Raḥmat Shoryānī	1616	Kasur
125.	Shaykh Muḥammad b. Faḍlullah	1620	Burhanpur
126.	Shaykh Aḥmad Shoryānī[1]	1621	Kasur
127.	Muḥammad Salīm	1621	Lahore
128.	Mīr Sayyid	1622	Kalpi
129.	Shāh Ala	1624	Panipat
130.	Shaykh Jān Allāh	1630	Lahore
131.	Shāh Muḥammad Shamsu'd-Dīn	1632	Ahmedabad
132.	Shaykh Muḥammad A'ẓam[2]	1632	Ahmedabad
133.	Ḥājī Gagan	1633	Kasur
134.	Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Jalīl	1633	Lucknow
135.	Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Karīm[3]	1635	Lahore

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[1] He wrote *Sawālat-i-Aḥmadī*, 'Questions of Aḥmad', in refutation of heresies.

[2] He is said to have written *Chihal-wa-do-Nuskha*, 'Forty two Treatises', a book perhaps on Ṣūfism.

[3] It is said that once while travelling he was very thirsty and was guided to water by a partridge and since then he forbade his disciples to eat the flesh of that bird, a custom which is still observed among his spiritual descendants. He wrote a commentary on *Fuṣūṣu'l-Ḥikam*, and *Asrār-i-'Ajībiyya*, 'The Strange Mysteries', a book on Ṣūfism.

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
136.	Mawlānā Darweza[1]	1638	Peshawar
137.	Abū Sa'īd	1639	Gangoh (Delhi)
138.	Allāh Dād Nūrī	1639	Kasur
139.	Malik Muḥammad[2]	1639	Jais
140.	Makhdūm 'Abdu'r-Rashīd	1645	Jaunpur
141.	Mīr Sayyid Aḥmad Gesū Darāz	1648	Kalpi
142.	Muḥammad Ṣādiq b. Fataḥullāh	1648	Gangoh
143.	'Abdu'l-Khāliq	1649	Lahore
144.	Shaykh 'Ārif	1654	Lahore
145.	Muḥammad Ismā'īl	1656	Akbarabad
146.	Shaykh Sa'īd Khān	1657	Burhanpur
147.	Shaykh Phogī Afghān	1659	Kasur
148.	Shaykh Panjū	1662	Peshawar
149.	Shaykh Junayd	1667	Sandila
150.	Shaykh Ḥabīb Khaybarī	1668	Aurangabad

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[1] He is the author of *Makhzān-i-Islām*, 'The Treasure House of Islam', a book on Ṣūfism which he left unfinished and was completed by his son after his death.

[2] He wrote in Bhākhā, the old Hindi, many books on various subjects the chief among them being: *Padmāwat*, *Dhobī Nāma*, and *Postin Nāma*. On Ṣūfism he wrote: *Zādu's-Sālikīn*, 'Provisions for Travellers' and *Māqṣūdu ṭ-Ṭālibīn*, 'The Goal of the Seekers'. His little book *Rashīdiyya*, on the rules of debate is a well-known treatise on the subject.

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
151.	Pīr Muḥammad	1669	Lucknow
152.	Ḥasan Muḥammad Jamālu'd-Dīn	1670	Ahmedabad
153.	Shaykh Muḥammad Ṣiddiq Ṣābirī	1673	Lahore
154.	Shaykh Muḥammad Dā'ūd	1684	Gangoh
155.	Shāh Abu'l-Mu'ālī	1704	Ameth, Saharanpur
156.	'Abdu'r-Rashīd	1709	Jullundhur
157.	Sayyid Muḥammad Sa'īd Mīrān Bhīkh	1729	Kohram
158.	Kalīmullāh	1729	Delhi
159.	Shaykh Niẓāmu'd-Dīn	1730	Aurangabad
160.	Shaykh Muḥammad Salīm Ṣābirī	1739	Lahore
161.	Shāh Bahlūl Barkī	1757	Jullundhur
162.	Shaykh 'Aḍadu'd-Dīn	1759	Amroha
163.	Shāh Luṭfullāh	1773	Jullundhur
164.	Maulānā Fakhru'd-Dīn	1785	Delhi
165.	Sayyid 'Alīmullāh	1786	Jullundhur
166.	Shaykh Nūr Muḥammad	1791	Bahawalpur State
167.	Shaykh Muḥammad Sa'īd Sharapūrī	1799	Lahore
168.	Muḥammad Sa'īd	1806	Jullundhur
169.	'Abdu'l-Bārī	1813	Amroha

1. The Saints of the Chishtī Order. *(contd.)*

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
170.	Shaykh Khayru'd-Dīn Khayr Shāh	1813	Lahore
171.	Qāḍī Muḥammad 'Aqīl	1814	Kot Mathan
172.	Ḥaḍrat Bandagī Sayyid Ṣābir 'Alī Shāh	1818	Delhi
173.	Sayyid Muḥammad A'ẓam	1822	Rupar
174.	Sayyid 'Imādu'd-Dīn	1826	Delhi
175.	Bandagī Ḥāfiẓ Mūsa	1832	Manikpur
176.	Sayyid Niyāz Aḥmad	1834	Bareilly
177.	Ghulām Naṣīru'd-Dīn Kāle Shāh	1846	Delhi
178.	Muḥammad Sulaymān	1850	Taunsa
179.	Ghulām Musṭafā	1851	Wazirabad
180.	Qāḍī Khuda Bakhsh	1853	Kot Matthan
181.	Mirza Roshan Bakht	1854	Faridabad
182.	Ghoṛe Shāh Sironjī	1857	Lahore
183.	Amānat 'Alī	1863	Amroha
184.	Hājī Ramḍān	1865	Lahore
185.	Fayḍ Bakhsh	1869	Lahore
186.	Khwāja Fakhru'd-Dīn	1871	Kot Matthan
187.	Sayyid Ghulām Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Khāmosh	1872	Hyderabad
188.	Sayyid Mīr 'Abdullāh Shāh	1887	Delhi

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

2. The Saints of the Suhrawardī Order.

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
1.	Sayyid Nūru'd-Dīn Mubārak[1]	1249	Delhi
2.	*Shaykh Bahāu'd-Dīn Zakariyya	1267	Multan
3.	Jamāl Khandarū	1268	Uchh
4.	*Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dīn	1283	Multan
5.	Shaykh Hisāmu'd-Dīn	1288	Budaun
6.	Shaykh Ḥasan Afghān	1290	Multan
7.	*Sayyid Jalalu'd-Dīn Munīr Shah Mīr Surkhposh Bukhārī	1291	Uchh
8.	*Shaykh Aḥmad Ma‘shūq	1320	Multan
9.	Ḍiyā'u'd-Dīn Rūmī	1323	Delhi
10.	*Lāl Shahbāz Qalandar	1324	Sindh
11.	Shaykh Ruknu'd-Dīn	1335	Multan
12.	Shaykh Ḥamīdu'd-Dīn	1337	Delhi
13.	Wajīhu‘d-Dīn Uṭhmān Sayyāḥ	1338	Delhi
14.	Ṣalāḥu'd-Dīn Darwesh	1340	Delhi
15.	Shaykh ‘Alā'u'd-Dīn	1340	Multan
16.	Sayyid Mīr Māh	1370	Bahraich

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[1] He was one of the vicegerents of Shaykh Shihābu'd-Dīn Suhrawardī and held the office of Shaykhu'l-Islām in Delhi.

Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.

2. The Saints of the Suhrawardī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
17.	Shaykh Ḥājī Chirāgh-i-Hind	1372	Zafarabad
18.	*Mīr Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Makhhūm-i-Jahāniyān Jahāngasht	1383	Uch
19.	Makhdūm Shaykh Akhī	1398	Rajgir
20.	Sayyid 'Ilmu'd-Dīn	1405	Palaun
21.	Kabīru'd-Dīn Ismā'īl	1424	Uch
22.	Rājū Qattāl or Qantāl	1424	Delhi
23.	Sirāju'd-Dīn Ḥāfiz	1426	Kalpi
24.	Sayyid Burhānu'd-Dīn Quṭb 'Ālam	1453	Ahmedabad
25.	Sayyid Shāh 'Ālam	1475	Ahmedabad
26.	Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Laṭīf Dāwaru'l-Mulk	1484	Gujrat
27.	Sayyid Kabīru'd-Dīn Ḥasan	1490	Uch
28.	Shāh-'Abdullāh Qureshī	1494	Delhi
29.	Samā'u'd-Dīn	1496	Delhi
30.	'Abdu'l-Jalīl Quṭbu'l-'Ālam	1497	Lahore
31.	Qāḍī Najmu'd-Dīn	1505	Gujrat
32.	Sayyid Uthmān Shāh Jhhūla	1506	Lahore
33.	Shaykh 'Ilmu'd-Dīn	1510	Chuniwal

2. The Saints of the Suhrawardī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine.
34.	Qāḍī Maḥmūd	1514	Gujrat
35.	Shaykh Mūsā Āhangar (Ironsmith)	1519	Lahore
36.	Sayyid Hājī 'Abdu'l-Wahāb	1525	Delhi
37.	Shaykh 'Abdullah Biyābānī	1529	Delhi
38.	Shaykh Jamālī	1535	Delhi
39.	Shaykh Adham Zaynu'l-'Ābidīn	1536	Delhi
40.	Sayyid Jamālu'd-Dīn	1542	Delhi
= 41.	Mullā Fīroz Muftī	1565	Kashmir
= 42.	Makhdūm Sulṭān Shaykh Ḥamza	1576	Kashmir
= 43.	Shaykh Naurozī Reshī	1578	Kashmir
= 44.	Bābā Da'ūd Khākī	1585	Kashmir
45.	Sayyid Jhūlan Shāh Ghoṛe Shāh Bukhhārī	1594	Lahore
46.	Sayyid Shāh Muḥammad b. 'Uthmān Jhūla	1602	Lahore
47.	Shaykh Ḥasan, known as Ḥassū Telī	1603	Lahore
48.	Mīran Muḥammad Shah Mauj Daryā Bukhārī	1604	Lahore
= 49.	Sayyid Jalālu'd-Dīn Ḥaydar	1612	Kashmir
= 50.	Bābā Robī Reshī	1615	Kashmir

2. The Saints of the Suhrawardī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine.
51.	Sayyid 'Imādu'l-Mulk	1629	Lahore
52.	Shāh Arzānī	1630	Patna
53.	Bābā Naṣību'd-Dīn	1637	Kashmir
54.	Sayyid Shihābu'd-Dīn	1631	Lahore
55.	Sayyid 'Abdu'r-Razzāq	1638	Lahore
56.	Sayyid Shāh Jamāl	1639	Lahore
57.	Sayyid Maḥmūd Shāh Naurang	1643	Lahore
58.	Mawlānā Ḥaydar	1647	Kashmir
59.	Shāh Dawlā Daryāī	1664	Gujrat (Panjab)
60.	Shaykh Jān Muḥammad	1671	Lahore
61.	Shaykh Muḥammad Ismā'īl, known as Miyan Waḍḍā	1674	Lahore
62.	Shaykh Ḥasan Lālū	1689	Kashmir
63.	Shaykh Ya'qūb	1694	Kashmir
64.	Sayyid Zinda 'Ali	1699	Lahore
65.	Shaykh 'Abdu'r-Raḥīm	1703	Kashmir
66.	Bābā 'Abdullāh	1705	Kashmir
67.	Shaykh Jān Muḥammad	1708	Lahore
68.	Shaykh Ḥamīd	1752	Lahore
69.	Shaykh Karamullāh Qureshī	1785	Shahjahanpur
70.	Shaykh Sikandar Qureshī	1799	Lahore
71.	Shaykh Shāh Murād Qureshī	1800	Khokhar
72.	Shaykh Qalandar Shāh Qureshī	1832	Lahore

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

3. The Saints of the Qādirī Order.

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
1.	Shāh 'Ināyatullāh	1515	Koh-i-Hakhaki
2.	*Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth	1517	Uch in Jhang
3.	Mīr Sayyid Shāh Firoz	1526	Lahore
4.	*Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Qādir II.	1533	Uch in Jhang
5.	Sayyid Maḥmūd Ḥuḍūrī	1535	Lahore
6.	Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī[1]	1535	Lahore
7.	Sayyid 'Abdu'r-Razzāq	1542	Uch in Jhang
8.	Shāh Laṭīf Barrī	1543	Nurpur (Rawalpindi)
9.	Mīr Sayyid Mubārak Ḥaqqānī	1549	Uch in Jhang
10.	Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth Bālā Pīr	1552	Satghara (Panjab)
11.	Bāhā'u'd-Dīn Gīlānī Bahāwal Sher	1565	Hujra
12.	Sayyid 'Abdulla Rabbānī	1570	Uch in Jhang
13.	Sayyid Ismā'īl Gīlānī	1570	Lahore
14.	Sayyid Ḥāmid Ganj Bakhsh	1570	Uch
15.	Shaykh Dā'ūd Karmānī	1574	Shergarh
16.	Shaykh Bahlūl Daryā'ī	1575	Chiniot
17.	Shaykh Abū Isḥāq	1577	Lahore

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[1] He is different from 'Abdu'l-Qādir, the founder of the order.

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

3. The Saints of the Qādirī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
18.	Sayyid Mīr Mirān	1578	Lahore
19.	Sayyid Nūr	1580	Chunian(Lahore)
20.	*Shāh Qumeṣ	1584	Sadhaura(Ambala)
21.	Sayyid Ismā'īl b. Sayyid Abdāl	1586	Fort Rathor
22.	Sayyid Allāh Bakhsh Gīlānī	1586	Bengal
23.	Sayyid Shāh Nūr Ḥuḍūrī	1588	Lahore
24.	Haḍrat Mūsā Pāk Shahīd	1592	Multan
25.	Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Wahāb	1592	Lahore
26.	Sayyid Ṣūfī Badru'd-Dīn	1593	Lahore
27.	Sayyid Kāmil Shāh	1596	Lahore
28.	Sayyid Ḥusayn	1599	Lahore
29.	Shaykh Ni'matu'llāh	1608	Sirhind
30.	Shāh Badar Gīlānī	1609	Patiala
31.	Shāh Shamsu'd-Dīn	1612	Lahore
32.	'Abdu'l-Qādir Gīlānī III	1613	Lahore
33.	Shāh Khayru'd-Dīn Abu'l-Mu'ālī	1615	Lahore
34.	*Miyān Natthā	1617	Lahore
35.	Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Wahāb Gīlānī	1627	Lahore
36.	Shaykh 'Abdullāh Bhattī	1627	Delhi
37.	Mullā Ḥāmid	1635	Lahore

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

3. The Saints of the Qādirī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
38.	*Miyān Mīr Bālā Pīr	1635	Lahore
39.	Sayyid Ghulām Ghāwth	1635	Lahore
40.	Sayyid Shāh Bilāwal	1636	Lahore
41.	Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Qādir	1640	Akbarabad
42.	Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Ḥaq Muḥaddith	1641	Delhi
43.	Mīr 'Ināyatullāh Shāh Amarī known as Miskīn Shāh	1642	Lahore
44.	Sayyid Muqīm Muḥkamu'd-Dīn	1646	Hujra
45.	*Shaykh Mādhu	1650	Lahore
46.	Khwāja Bihārī	1655	Lahore
47.	Shāh Sulaymān	1655	Bhilowal
48.	Sayyid Jān Muḥammad Ḥuḍūrī	1655	Lahore
49.	Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ	1657	Akbarabad
50.	Sayyid 'Abdu'r-Razzāq Shāh Chirāgh	1658	Lahore
51.	Shāh Muḥammad Mullā Shāh	1659	Lahore

Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.

3. The Saints of the Qādirī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
52.	*Dārā Shikoh [1]	1660	Delhi
53.	Shāh Ṣafīullāh Sayfu'r-Raḥmān	1669	Hujra
54.	Ḥājī 'Abdu'l-Jamīl	1671	Lahore
55.	Ḥājī Muḥammad Hāshim Gīlānī	1676	Lahore
56.	Sayyid Sarwar Dīn Ḥuḍūrī	1689	Lahore
57.	Sayyid Muḥammad Amīr Gīlānī	1691	Hujra
58.	*Shaykh Ḥājī Muḥammad Nawshāh Ganj Bakhsh	1692	Chhani Sahnpal (Wazirabad)
59.	Sayyid Ja'far b. Ḥājī Muḥammad Hāshim	1696	Lahore
60.	Sayyid 'Adbu'l-Ḥakīm Gīlānī	1697	Lahore

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[1] He wrote the following books :

Sakīnatu'l-Awliyā, on the life of Miyān Mīr.

Majma'u'l-Baḥryan, The Meeting of Two Oceans, in which he has attempted to reconcile Islam with Hinduism.

Hasnātu'l-'Arifīn, dealing with Qādirī Order. *Ramūz-i-Taṣawwuf*, The Secrets of Ṣūfism, and *Ṭarīqat-i-Ḥaqīqat*, The Path of Reality.

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

3. The Saints of the Qādirī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
61.	Sayyid Muḥammad Fāḍil Mutawakkil	1701	Lahore
62.	*Khwāja Muḥammad Fuḍayl Nawshāhī	1701	Kabul
63.	Shaykh Raḥīm Dād	1703	Bhilowal
64.	Sayyid 'Umar Gīlānī	1703	Lahore
65.	Sayyid Ḥasan Gīlānī	1703	Peshawar
66.	Shāh Riḍā	1706	Lahore
67.	Shāh Muḥammad Ṣāliḥ Nawshāhī	1706	Chak Sada (Gujrat)
68.	Shāh Kanth	1707	Lahore
69.	Shaykh Ṣadru'd-Dīn Nawshāhī	1708	..
70.	Shāh Dargāhī	1710	Lahore
71.	Shaykh Tāj Maḥmūd	1711	Bhilowal
72.	Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Ḥamīd Nawshāhī	1713	..
73.	Sayyid Nūr Muḥammad b. Sayyid Muḥammad Amīr	1714	Hujra
74.	Shaykh Khāmosh Muḥammad Nawshāhī	1715	Chhani Sahnpal
75.	Ḥāfiẓ Barkhurdār Nawshāhī	1718	Chhani Sahnpal

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

3. The Saints of the Qādirī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
76.	Shaykh Fatiḥ Muḥammad Ghiyāthu'd-Dīn	1718	Kirana
77.	Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Wahāb	1719	Lahore
78.	Khwāja Hāshim Daryā Dil Nawshāhī	1721	Chhani Sahnpal
79.	Sayyid Aḥmad Shaykhu'l-Hind Gīlānī	1722	Kotla
80.	Sayyid Badru'd-Dīn Gīlānī	1722	Lahore
81.	Shāh Sharf	1723	Lahore
82.	Shaykh 'Ismatullāh Nawshāhī	1725	..
83.	Shaykh Aḥmad Beg Nawshāhī	1727	Sialkot
84.	Shāh 'Ināyat	1728	Lahore
85.	Sayyid Ḥājī 'Abdullāh Gīlānī	1728	Lahore
86.	Shaykh Jamālullāh Nawshāhī	1729	Chhani Sahnpal
87.	Shāh Muḥammad Ghawth Gīlānī	1739	Lahore
88.	*Pīr Muḥammad Sachyār	1739	Gujrat
89.	*Shaykh 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān Pāk Raḥmān Nawshāhī	1740	Tehri 'Abdu'r-Raḥman

3. The Saints of the Qādirī Order. (*contd.*)

Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
90. Sayyid 'Abdu'l-Qādir Shāh Gadā	1741	Lahore
91. Shāh Farīd Nawshāhī	1745	Lahore
92. Shaykh Fatīḥ Muḥammad Nawshāhī	1745	Photuhar
93. Shaykh 'Ināyatullāh	1745	Chhani Sahnpal
94. Shaykh Sulṭān Mirgbīnī	1745	Lahore
95. Sayyid Shāh Ḥusayn	1749	Hujra
96. Miyān Raḥmatullāh	1753	..
97. Shaykh Nasratullāh Nawshāhī	1756	..
98. Mīr Bahlī Shāh	1757	Kusur
99. Shaykh Sa'dullāh Nawshāhī	1761	..
100. Shaykh Muḥamad 'Aẕīm	1767	Lahore
101. Shāh Sardār	1770	Babakwal (Lahore)
102. Sayyid Muḥammad Shāh Razzāq Gītānī	1770	Hujra
103. Shaykh Maṣaḥib Khān	1776	Babakwal (Lahore)
104. Shāh Ṣadru'd-Dīn b. Mīr 'Abdu'r-Razzāq	1776	Hujra
105. Shaykh Jān Muḥammad	1791	Babakwal (Lahore)

Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.

3. The Saints of the Qādirī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
106.	Shaykh ʻAbdullāh Bilochī	1797	Lahore
107.	Shaykh Maḥmūd b. Muḥammad ʻAẕīm	1801	Hujra
108.	Sayyid ʻĀdil Shāh Natthū Gīlānī	1805	Lahore
109.	Sayyid Shādī Shāh	1806	Lahore
110.	Sayyid ʻAlī Shāh	1812	Lahore
111.	Sayyid Sardārʻ Alī Shahīd	1813	Hujra
112.	Sayyid Quṭbu'd-Dīn	1834	Hujra
113.	Shaykh Muslim Khān	1838	..
114.	Sayyid Shāh Baṛe Ṣāḥib	1854	Delhi
115.	Shāh ʻAbdu'l-ʻAzīz	1879	Delhi
116.	Sayyid Ghawth ʻAlī Shāh	1881	Panipat

4. The Saints of the Naqshbandī Order.

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
1.	*Khwāja Muḥammad Bāqibillāh Berang	1603	Delhi
2.	*Shaykh Aḥmad Fārūqī Mujaddid Alf-i-Thānī	1615	Sirhind.
3.	*Shaykh Ṭāhir	1630	Lahore
4.	Khwāja Berang	1632	Delhi
5.	Mullā Ḥusayn	1640	Kashmir
6.	Khwājā Khawind Ḥaḍrat Ishān	1642	Lahore
7.	Khwāja Ḥājī Khiḍr	1642	Sirhind

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

4. The Saints of the Naqshbandī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
8.	Sayyid Ādam Banawrī	1643	...
9.	Shaykh Ḥāmid	1644	Lahore
10.	Shaykh Nūr Muḥammad	1649	Peshawar
11.	Mīr Abu'l-'Ulā	1650	Akbarabad
12.	Shaykh Aḥmad Sa'īd	1659	Sirhind
13.	Shaykh Muḥammad	1664	Sultanpur
14.	*Shaykh Muḥammad Ma'ṣūm	1668	Sirhind
15.	Shaykh Muḥammad	1672	Ambala
16.	Shaykh Muḥammad Sharīf	1672	Shahabad
17.	Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn [1]	1674	Kashmir
18.	Shaykh 'Abdu'l-Khāliq	1675	Kasur
19.	Khwāja Dā'ūd Mishkātī [2]	1685	Kashmir
20.	Shaykh Muḥammad Amīn Dār [3]	1686	Kashmir
21.	Shaykh Sayfu'd-Dīn	1686	Sirhind
22.	Shaykh Sa'dī	1696	Lahore

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[1] He wrote the following: *Fatāwa-i-Naqshbandiyya*, 'The Decisions of Naqshbandiyya,' *Kanzu's-Sa'ādat*, 'The Treasure of Virtue,' and *Risāla Riḍwānī*.

[2] He is the author of *Asrāru'l-Abrār*, 'The Secrets of Good People'.

[3] The authorship of *Qaṭrāt*, The Drops, is ascribed to him.

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

4. The Saints of the Naqshbandī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine.
23.	Maulānā Ḥājī Muḥammad Ismā‘īl Ghaurī	1699	Peshawar
= 24.	Makhdūm Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abdu’l-Ghafūr	1701	Kashmir
= 25.	Shaykh Muḥammad Murād	1718	Kashmir
26.	Sayyid Nūr Muḥammad	1723	Budaun
27.	Khwāja Muḥammad Ṣiddīq	1724	Sirhind
= 28.	Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Balkhī	1726	Kashmir
= 29.	Khwāja ‘Abdullāh Bukhārī	1728	Kashmir
30.	*Shaykh ‘Abdu’l-Aḥad b. Khazīnatu’r-Raḥmat	1729	Sirhind
31.	Shaykh Muḥammad Farrukh	1731	Sirhind
32.	Ḥājī Muhammad Afḍal	1733	Sirhind
33.	Ḥājī Muḥammad Muḥsan	1734	Delhi
34.	Shaykh Muḥammad Fāḍil	1739	Patiala
35.	Khwāja Ḥāfiẓ Sa‘īdullah	1740	Shajahanabad
36.	*Shaykh Muḥammad Zubayr	1740	Sirhind
37.	Shāh Gulshan	1742	Delhi
38.	Shaykh ‘Abdu’r-Rashīd	1742	Delhi
= 39.	Nuru’d-Dīn Muḥammad Āftāb	1743	Kashmir

4. The Saints of the Naqshbandī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
40.	Shaykh Ḥājī Muḥammad Sa'īd	1752	Lahore
41	Khwāja 'Abdu's-Salām	1758	Kashmir
42.	Shāh Muḥammad Ṣādiq Qalandar	1758	Kashmir
43.	Khwāja 'Muḥammad A'ẕam Domrī [1]	1771	Kashmir
44.	Khwāja Kamālu'd-Dīn	1774	Kashmir
45.	Ḥaḍrat Shāh Shamsu'd-Dīn Ḥabībullāh Mirzā Jān-i-Jānā Maẕhar	1780	Delhi
46.	Maulwī Aḥmadullāh	1783	Panipat
47.	Shaykh Muḥammad Iḥsān	1791	Delhi
48.	Maulwī 'Alīmullah	1796	Gangoh
49.	Maulwī Thanāullāh	1797	Panipat
50.	Shāh Dargāhī	1811	Rampur
51.	Ṣafīu'd-Dīn Ṣafī'u'l-Qadar	1821	Lucknow
52.	Shāh 'Abdullah Ghulām 'Alī	1824	Delhi
53.	Shāh Abū Sa'īd	1834	Tonk
54.	Shāh Ra'ūf	1837	...
55.	Shaykh Muḥammad Asghar	1839	Delhi

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[1] He is the author of the famous history of Kashmir known as *Tārikh 'Aẕamī*, The History of 'Aẕam.

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

4. The Saints of the Naqshbandī Order. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
56.	Shāh ‘Abdu‘r-Raḥmān	1842	Sindh
57.	Maulwī Karamullāh of Delhi	1842	...
58.	Mawlānā ‘Abdu‘l-Ghafūr	1843	Khurja
59.	Mirza Raḥīmatullah Beg	1844	Azimabad
60.	Sayyid Munawwar Shāh	1848	Lahore
61.	Maulwī Khaṭīb Ahmad	1850	Bhopal
62.	Mawlānā Muḥammad Jān Shaykhu‘l-Ḥaram	1852	...
63.	Shāh Aḥmad Sa‘īd	1860	...
64.	Imām ‘Alī Shāh	1860	Ratr Chatr (Gurdaspur)

5. The Saints of the Minor or the Irregular Orders.

1.	*Sayyid Sālār Mas‘ūd Ghāzī	1033	Bahraich
2.	Shaykh Ismā‘īl	1056	Lahore
3.	*‘Alīu‘l-Hujwirī	1072	Lahore
4.	Sayyid Aḥmad Sakhī Sarwar	1181	Multan
5.	Sayyid Aḥmad Tokhta	1205	Lahore
6.	Sayyid Ya‘qūb Ṣadar Dīwān	1207	Lahore
7.	Mīr Sayyid Ḥusayn Khung Sawār	1213	Ajmer

** Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

5. The saints of the Minor or the Irregular Orders. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
8.	Sayyid 'Azīzu'd-Dīn Makkī	1215	Lahore
9.	Ṣūfī Badhnī	1240	Delhi
10.	Sayyid Math	1262	Lahore
11.	Khwāja 'Azīz	1267	Budaun
= 12.	Amīr Kabīr Sayyid 'Alī Hamadānī	1287	Kashmir
= 13.	Shaykh Nūru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Raḥmān	1296	Kashmir
14.	Shaykh Nūru'd-Dīn Malikyār	1296	Delhi
15.	Shaykh Badru'd-Dīn Isḥāq	1316	Delhi
= 16.	Bulbul Shāh	1326	Kashmir
17.	Shaykh Isḥāq Maghribī	1374	Nagore
→ 18.	Shaykh Sharfu'd-Dīn b.[1] Yaḥyā Munirī	1380	Rajgir Hills ManeRi
19.	Sayyid Isḥāq Gāzrūnī	1384	Lahore
20.	*Shaykh 'Abdulla Shaṭṭārī	1429	Mandu (Multan)

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[1] He is an author of several books on Ṣūfism the chief of these being *Maktūbāt*, 'Epistles,' *Irshādu's-Sālikīn*, 'The Directions for The Travellers,' *Ma'danu'l-Ma'ānī*, The Mine of Things Spiritual, and a commentary on *Ādābu'l-Murīdīn*.

**Indicates that mention has been made of him in the text.*

5. The Saints of the Minor or the Irregular Orders. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
21.	Shaykh 'Alī Pīrū	1431	Gujrat
22.	Shaykh 'Alī b. Aḥmad	1432	Deccan
23.	*Shaykh Badi'u'd-Dīn Madār	1436	Makanpur
24.	Shaykh Nūru'd-Dīn Walī	1438	Kashmir
25.	Shaykh Bahā'u'd-Dīn Ganj Bakhsh	1445	Kashmir
26.	Shaykh Aḥmad Katthū	1445	Ahmedabad
27.	Shaykh Jamāl Gojar	1454	Oudh
28.	Shaykh Hilālu'd-Dīn	1457	Kashmir
29.	Sayyid Muḥammad Amīn	1484	Kashmir
30.	Malik Zaynu'd-Dīn	1520	Delhi
31.	Zabaru'd-Dīn	1525	Delhi
32.	Shu'ayb	1529	Delhi
33.	Shāh Jalālu'd-Dīn	1537	Delhi
34.	Shaykh Sulaymān b. 'Affān	1537	Delhi
35.	Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth	1562	Gwalior
36.	Bābā Quds	1578	Kashmir
37.	Sayyid Ghyāthu'd-Dīn Gīlanī	1582	Lahore
38.	*Shaykh Wajīhu'd-Dīn	1589	Gujrat
39.	Bābā Wāle	1592	Kashmir

5. The Saints of the Minor or the Irregular Orders. (*contd.*)

		Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
=	40.	Ya'qūb Ṣūfī	1594	Kashmir
	41.	Sayyid Muḥammad Ghawth	1595	Lahore
=	42.	Mīr Muḥammad b. Aḥmad	1602	Kashmir
=	43.	Sayyid Yūsuf Muḥammad Banje	1602	Kashmir
=	44.	Muḥammad Kamāl	1608	Kashmir
=	45.	Mawlānā Shāh Gadā-i-Kashmīr	1615	Kashmir
=	46.	Ḥabībullah	1617	Kashmir
=	47.	Shaykh Mūsawī Baldīmari	1617	Kashmir
=	48.	Shaykh Muḥammad Sharīf known as Shok Bābā	1618	Kashmir
=	49.	Shāh Ni'matullāh	1619	Kashmir
=	50.	Shāh Qāsim Ḥaqqānī	1623	Kashmir
=	51.	Khwāja Zaynu'd-Dīn Ḍār	1632	Kashmir
	52.	Shaykh Pīr Shaṭṭārī	1632	Meeruth
	53.	Shaykh Nazīr	1647	Akbarabad
=	54.	Bābā 'Alī	1649	Kashmir
	55.	Mīr Ṣaḥib Kashafī	1650	Akbarabad
	56.	Mawlāna Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Fārūqī	1652	Jaunpur

5. The Saints of the Minor or the Irregular Orders. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine
57.	Shaykh Bāqī	1654	Akbarabad
58.	‘Abdul’-Ḥakīm	1658	Sialkot
59.	Ḥakīm Sarmad	1660	Delhi
60.	Shaykh Dā'ūd	1660	Kashmir
61.	Shaykh Abū Turāb Shāh Gadā	1661	Lahore
62.	Najmu'd-Dīn Bābā Sakhī	1662	Kashmir
63.	Mīr Muḥammad ‘Alī	1662	Kashmir
64.	Bābā Zāhid	1671	Kashmir
65.	Sayyid Ḥāmid	1679	Lahore
66.	Abu'l-Fatiḥ'	1688	Kashmir
67.	Bābā Ḥabīb Lattū	1693	Kashmir
68.	Mīr Tājū	1699	Kashmir
69.	Shāh Muḥammad Qādirī Suhrawardī, & Kubrawī	1705	Kashmir
70.	Bābā Uthmān Qādirī Suhrawardī & Shaṭṭārī	1705	Kashmir
71.	Muḥammad Hāshim	1706	Kashmir
72.	‘Abdu‘r-Raḥīm	1708	Kashmir
73.	Mirzā Ḥayāt Beg	1708	Kashmir
74.	Shaykh Ḥusayn	1710	Kashmir
75.	Qāḍī Ḥaydar	1710	Kashmir
76.	Mawlāna ‘Ināyatullāh	1713	Kashmir

5. The Saints of the Minor or the Irregular Orders. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine.
77.	Sulṭān Mīr Jū	1713	Kashmir
78.	Mīr 'Abu'l-Fatiḥ	1713	Kashmir
79.	Shaykh Muḥammad	1714	Kashmir
80.	Qāḍī Dawlat Shāh Ḥusaynī	1714	Delhi
81.	Mirzā Kāmil	1718	Kashmir
82.	'Abdu'l-Laṭīf	1721	Kashmir
83.	Mīr Sharfu'd-Dīn	1722	Kashmir
84.	Mīr Muḥammad Ḥāshim Gīlānī	1722	Kashmir
85.	Mawlānā 'Alī Asghar	1727	Kanauj
86.	Bābā Muḥammad Mehdī	1737	Kashmir
87.	Shaykh Fatiḥ Shāh Shaṭṭārī	1737	Lahore
88.	Pīr Muḥammad Ismā'īl Kubrawī	1737	Kashmir
89.	Khwāja Ayyūb Quraysbī	1742	Lahore
90.	Bābā 'Abdu'l-Bāqī Kubrawī	1744	Kashmir
91.	Rustam 'Alī b. 'Alī Asghar	1764	Kanauj
92.	Shāh Walī Ullāh Muḥaddith	1765	Delhi
93.	Mīr Muḥammad Ya'qūb Gīlānī	1765	Lahore

5. The Saints of the Minor or the Irregular Orders. (*contd.*)

	Name	Date of Death	Place of Shrine.
94.	Ḥāfiẓ ‘Abdu’l-Khāliq Awesī	1771	Bahawalpur
95.	Sayyid Shāh Ḥusayn Gīlānī	1790	...
96.	Sayyid ‘Abdu’l-Karīm Pīr Bahāwan Shāh	1798	Lahore
97.	Maulwī Ghulām Farīd	1801	Lahore
98.	Muftī Raḥimullāh	1819	Lahore
99.	Shaykh Nūr Aḥmad Ḥusayn	1820	Lahore
100.	Shāh ‘Abdu’l-‘Azīz	1823	Delhi
101.	Sulṭān Bālā Dīn Awesī	1825	Bahawalpur
102.	Shaykh Laddhe Shāh	1837	Lahore
103.	Aḥmad Shāh	1860	Kashmir

APPENDIX B

THE PRINCIPAL ANNIVERSARIES OF THE SAINTS' '*URS* IN INDIA.

The date of death is observed, and in the following list the dates are given according to the Muslim Calendar.

1.	Sulṭān Bāhū, Bāhū in Dist. Jhang ...	1st	Muḥarram.
2.	Bhore Miyān, Rampur	4th	,,
3.	Farīdu'd-Din Shakarganj, Pak Patan ...	5th-7th	,,
4.	Langar Ṣaḥib, Hyderabad ...	10th	,,
5.	Sālār Mas'ūd Ghāzī, Bahraich ...	11th	,,
6.	Shaykh 'Ibādu'l-Hudā, Gwalior ...	19th	,,
7.	Ḥājī Wārith 'Alī Shāh	21st	,,
8.	Shamsu'l-Ḥaq, Jabbi, Shahpur ...	21st	,,
9.	Shāh Jamālu'l-Hudā, Rampur ...	23rd	,,
10.	Muṭi'u'r-Rasūl, Budaun	25th	,,
11.	Mīr Ashraf Jahāngīr Samnānī, Kachaucha	25th-28th	,,
12.	Wārith 'Alī Shāh, Dewa Sharif ...	1st	Ṣafar.

13.	Shāh Jamālullāh, Rampur	3rd	Ṣafar.
14.	Muḥammad ‘Abbās ‘Alī Khān Naqshband, Amroha ...	5th	,,
15.	Khwāja Mūṭma’in, Tunsa	6th	,,
16.	Thanāu’d-Din Zakariyā, Tunsa ...	7th	,,
17.	Shāh Niẓāmu’d-Din Chishtī, Bareilly ...	12th	,,
18.	Karīm Shāh, Surat, ...	13th	,,
19.	Shamsu’d-Dīn Sayyāl ...	13th-15th	,,
20.	Sakhī Sarwar Sulṭān, Dhaunkal ...	13th	,,
21.	‘Abdu’l-Quddūs, Gangoh ...	14th	,,
22.	Shāh Dargāhī, Rampur	14th	,,
23.	Imām ‘Alī, Sialkot, ...	15th	,,
24.	‘Alīu’l-Hujwirī, Lahore	20th	,,
25.	Shāh Maynā, Lucknow	23rd	,,
26.	Sā’in Faḍal Ilāhī, Kusur	25th	,,
27.	Makhdūm Shāh ‘Alī, Kanpur ...	26th	,,
28.	Shāh Bulāqī, Muradabad ...	27th	,,
29.	Shaykh Aḥmad Fārūqī, Sirhind ...	27th-28th	,,
30.	Ṣādiq Shāh, Kanpur ...	28th	,,
31.	Pīr Muḥammad Nawshāh, Naushahra ...	4th	Rabī‘ul-Awwal.

32.	Khwāja Zarī Bakhsh, Jalalabad ...	4th	Rabī‘ul-Awwal.
33.	Muntakhibu'd-Din, Aurangabad ...	6th	,,
34.	Miyān Mīr, Lahore ...	6th	,,
35.	Shāh Hamdān, Kashmir	7th	,,
36.	Makhdūm ‘Alāu'd-Din Ṣābīr Piran Kaliar	7th-13th	,,
37.	Sakhī Sarwar, Lahore	8th	,,
38.	Ghwthu'l-A‘ẓam, Ambala ...	9th	,,
39.	Jamāl Bahār, Monghyr	12th	,,
40.	Khwāja Quṭbu'd-Dīn Kākī, Delhi ...	14th	,,
41.	Nawshāh Ganj Bakhsh, Naushahra ...	15th	,,
42.	Shāh Muḥammad Sa‘īd, Sharqpur ...	15th	,,
43.	Abu'l-Mu‘ālī, Lahore	16th	,,
44.	Shāh Muḥammad Ghawth, Lahore ...	16th	,,
45.	Ghawth Shāh, Panipat	17th	,,
46.	Niẓāmu'd-Dīn Awliyā, Delhi ...	18th	,,
47.	Ḥusayn Bakhsh, Farrukhabad ...	19th	,,
48.	Ghulām Qādir, Lahore	19th	,,
49.	Ṭālib Ḥusayn, Farrukhabad ...	21st	,,

50.	Shāh Jamāl, Lahore	22nd Rabīʿul-Awwal.
51.	Faḍlu'r-Raḥmān, Muradabad	23rd ,,
52.	Farīd Thānī, Mathan Kot	2nd Rabīʿu'th-Thānī.
53.	Mihrān Shāh, Ahmad Nagar	10th ,,
54.	Ghawthu'l-Aʿẓam, Batala	10th ,,
55.	*Gyārhwin Sharīf* of Ghawthu'l-Aʿẓam	11th ,,
56.	Ladorā Dargāh, Darbhanga	11th ,,
57.	Shāh Dawla, Gujrat, (Punjab)	19th ,,
58.	Ṣūfī Muḥammad Imām-u'd-Dīn, Mukhtassar	20th ,,
59.	Ghwthu'l-Aʿẓam, Rawalpindi	30th ,,
60.	ʿAbdu'l-Ḥakīm, Ghazipur	12th Jamādi'l-Awwal.
61.	Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, Delhi	15th ,,
62.	Zinda Shāh Madār, Makanpur	17th ,,
63.	Pīr Ḥayder Shāh, Jalalpur	5th-7th Jamādi'th-Thānī.
64.	Bibī Pākdāmanān, Lahore	7th ,,

65. Fakhru'd-Dīn, Delhi	7th	Jamādī'uth-Thānī.
66. Ḥāmid Qādiri, Lahore,	8th	,,
67. Ḥaḍrat Imām Ṣaḥib, Sialkot	17th	,,
68. Bāqī Billāh, Delhi	28th-29th	,,
69. Khwāja Mu'īnu'd-Dīn Chishtī	6th-14th	Rajab.
70. Shāh Ṣadar Dīwān, Lahore	16th	,,
71. Bandagī Shāh Luṭfullāh, Bijnor	1st	Sha'bān.
72. 'Abdu'l-Karīm, Rampur	2nd	,,
73. Badru'd-Dīn Isḥāq, Ajodhan	4th	,,
74. Sayyid Shāh Ghawth, Budaun	5th	,,
75. Bandagī Shāh, Sikandarabad	9th	,,
76. Shāh 'Abdu'l-Barī, Amroha	11th	,,
77. Khwāja Muḥammad Ḥaḍrat Ishān, Lahore	12th	,,
78. Bāwājī Nūr Muḥammad Naqshband, Chawrāh	12th	,,
79. Shamsu'd-Dīn Turk, Panipat	19th	,,
80. Shāh Altamash, Delhi	20th	,,

81.	‘Abdu’l-Karīm, Sialkot	20th	Sha‘bān.
82.	Maulwī Ayyūbī, Lucknow ...	21st	,,
83.	Anwar, Kakori ...	22nd	,,
84.	Sarmad Shahīd, Delhi	22nd	,,
85.	Bahlūl Shāh, Lahore ...	27th-29th	,,
86.	Shaykh Bilāwal, Lahore	28th	,,
87.	Shamsu’d-Dīn Ḥabībullāh, Sirhind ...	1st	Ramaḍān.
88.	Ḥāji Ramaḍān Chishtī, Lahore ...	2nd	,,
89.	‘Abdu’l Bārī Māhirī, Amroha ...	4th	,,
90.	Muḥammad Dāru, Gangoh ...	5th	,,
91.	Bū ‘Alī Qalandar, Panipat and Karnal	12th-13th	,,
92.	Shāh Muḥammad Gosha Nashīn, Ahmadabad	15th	,,
93.	Muḥammad Ghawth, Gwalior ...	15th	,,
94.	Mullā Ḥāmid Qādirī, Lahore ...	17th	,,
95.	Naṣīru’d-Dīn Chirāgh-i-Delhī, Delhi ...	18th	,,
96.	Najībullāh Mutawwakkil, Delhi ...	19th	,,
97.	Ruknu’d-Dīn Abu’l-Ḥasan, Vellore ...	20th	,,

98.	Ḥujjatullāh Ghaybu'l-Lisān, Delhi ...	21st	Ramaḍān.
99.	Shāh Junayd, Ghazipur	24th	,,
100.	Shāh ‘Alīmullāh, Rae-barelli ...	25th	,,
101.	Shaykh Ḥasan Afghān, Malakan ...	26th	,,
102.	Dīwān Muḥammad Nūr-u'd-Dīn, Ajodhan...	27th	,,
103.	Sharfu'd-Dīn Calcutta	28th	,,
104.	Miyān Waddā, Lahore	28th	,,
105.	Shaykh Salīm Chishtī, Fatehpur Sikri ...	29th	,,
106.	Aḥmad Sarwar, Murad-abad ...	8th	Shawwāl.
107.	Shyakh Miṣrī, Bombay	13th	,,
108.	Wazīr ‘Ali, Rampur ...	13th	,,
109.	Ḥabibu'r-Raḥmān, Budaun ...	15th	,,
110.	Amīr Khusrū, Delhi ...	18th-20th	,,
111.	Shāh ‘Alī Ḥyder, Ka-kori ...	26th	,,
112.	Miyān ‘Abdu'l-Ḥakīm, Rampur ...	2nd	Dhu'l-Qa‘adah.
113.	Niẓāmu'd-Dīn, Kakori	7th	,,
114.	Shāh Taqī, Cambellpur	8th	,,
115.	Sayyid Muḥammad Gesū Darāz, Gulbarga ...	11th-15th	,,
116.	‘Āshiq ‘Alī, Dongriabad	17th	,,

117.	Shāh Wilāyat ‘Alī, Agra	18th Dhu’l-Qa‘adah.
118.	Shāh ‘Ālam, Raepur ...	27th „
119.	‘Abdu’l-Khāliq, Bahawalpur ...	28th „
120.	Makhdūm-i-Jahāniyāṉ Jahān Gasht, Uchh	9th-10th Dhi’l-Ḥajj.
121.	Dīn Muḥammad, Amritsar ...	11th „
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